Spirit Wrestlers

Centennial Papers in Honour of Canada's Doukhobor Heritage

Koozma J. Tarasoff
and Robert B. Klymasz

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Abstract

To mark the centenary of Doukhobor settlement in Canada (1899–1999), twenty-six contributors from Canada and abroad offer new and important insights into the Doukhobor experience, past and present, from various perspectives. The main areas of discussion focus on the ideology, music, material culture, and history of the Doukhobors. This encyclopaedic overview also includes two bibliographic surveys.

Résumé

Pour marquer le centenaire (1899-1999) de l'établissement des doukhobors au Canada, vingt-six collaborateurs du Canada et d'ailleurs jettent un nouveau regard sur l'expérience doukhobor, passée et présente, à partir de points de vue différents. Ils se penchent particulièrement sur l'idéologie, la musique, la culture matérielle et l'histoire des doukhobors. Ce tour d'horizon encyclopédique comprend de plus deux études bibliographiques.

* * *

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PREFACE

The present collection of twenty-four papers is meant to salute the centenaries of two significant events: the Doukhobors' "burning of arms" in 1895 and their subsequent arrival in Canada in 1899. Canada's Doukhobors, about twenty thousand souls, represent approximately half of the world's total number of Doukhobors and carry a story that is deep and provocative. The complexity of its dimensions is reflected in the recollections of Maurice G. Hindus:

> The more I learned of the Doukhobors, as a child in Russia, the higher rose my admiration for them. Here were about ten thousand peasants, barely literate, with no intellectual leaders. They had been cast into the Caucasian wilderness, exposed to the perils of roving beasts and savage Tatars; yet they rose one day and, with the chanting of hymns, burned all their arms, and vowed to be Christians in their every thought and act, to kill no living thing, to abstain from violence, even when victims of it, to avoid all excesses and dissipations, to refrain from the use of meat, tobacco, liquor, to abandon a life of individual pursuit, and join in a commune where all should toil and enjoy and suffer together. They turned their backs upon modern civilization, they refused military service, and declined to take the oath of allegiance to the new emperor. They were lashed, tortured, jailed; they neither yielded nor resisted. Intellectual Russia applauded and idealized them. When Tolstoy made his memorable appeal in their behalf through the columns of the London "Times," the world responded and helped them migrate to western Canada...[1]

The appellation, "Doukhobor", translates literally but ambiguously as "spirit wrestler". The variety of possible interpretations mirrors the biases that have shaped opinions about Doukhobors in the course of their history. Maligned as heretical fanatics by their detractors, and defended as true Christian martyrs by their supporters, the Doukhobors have consistently sparked fires of controversy and raised issues that are basic to human conduct and existence.

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[1] Hindus, Maurice Gershon, "Bookless Philosophers", in *Century Magazine*, New York, v. 105 (January 1923) p. 423.

An ardent sect with cultic overtones, this community is dominated by a legacy derived from Russian antecedents; and, for this reason, we are pleased to welcome the strong representation here of contributions written by researchers trained and based in Russia: T.T. Burlakova, S.A. Inikova, M. Momonova and I.V. Tarasova. Most of the remaining articles are written by Canadians including four whose "views from within" enrich our appreciation of the Doukhobor experience in Canada in a special way. The profoundly and fundamentally non-materialistic world of Doukhoborism, its philosophy and spirituality, is broached in Parts One ("Ideological Aspects") and Two ("The Song Tradition"). Part Three ("Material Culture") addresses phenomena of museological interest, and Part Four ("Historical Forays") offers the largest grouping with nine essays. A fifth Part, "Bibliographical Findings", underlines the scope of print materials available to the reader for further consultation.

Having cast his net far and wide, our compiler, Koozma J. Tarasoff, has delivered a harvest of riches that illuminates this fascinating and remarkable piece of the Canadian cultural "mosaic." To each of the contributors, we extend our many thanks for sharing their insights and for tolerating our editorial discretions with patience and understanding. We also wish to acknowledge the assistance and collaboration of our Museum colleagues whose participation in the production of this volume was indispensable.

Robert B. Klymasz

INTRODUCTION

by
Koozma J. Tarasoff

Like the first smile and first words of the host meeting the visitor, this Introduction will welcome the readers to the fascinating world of the Spirit Wrestlers/Doukhobors.

In 1989 when we started to work on this book, the first letter to the potential contributors set forth the task of this publication: "From the burning of firearms, the migration to Canada, the settlement on the Canadian prairies and readjustments therein, to the present pluralistic situation of cultural preservation in the wider industrial society, your paper or article will help to define the Doukhobor experience in the 20th Century."

The response was overwhelming. Some fifty papers were received and of these nineteen were selected for this compilation. The remainder are listed elsewhere in this volume and an independent effort is being taken to publish them. Our sincere thanks to all the authors for making such a valued contribution. The composition of the authors for the entire collection is revealing. Men/women: 66% vs. 34%. Canadians (72%), Russians (16%), Americans (8%), Japanese (2%), and Belgian (2%). Doukhobors (41%) vs. non-Doukhobors (59%). For many of the Doukhobors, contributing to this volume has stimulated them to rediscover themselves and their family roots. Overall, the authors represent many diverse points of view and the following is only a sampling of the insights.

Evolving from a religious and ethical base to that of the current social movement, Doukhobor philosophical and historical roots cast a wide human net. As Momonova points out, "from the very beginning of their appearance on the historical scene, the Doukhobors have not been some sort of private, narrow and restricted religious sect or community... [They] were linked in one way or another with ideas of justice, beauty (spiritual beauty above all), goodness, and service to universal values." In the manner of Socrates, Doukhobors questioned the right of material and institutional power, as Mealing shows. For meddling with the claims of power in Russia and the West, they "have suffered and have been broken in various ways." Challenging the emperor or the government official to take account of their responsibility or to share power with those who govern is no easy matter.

Lev N. Tolstoy, the world famous Russian writer and moralist, towers above others in the impact he had on the Doukhobors. Along with other Russian intellectuals and the English and American Quakers, Tolstoy contributed generously to the migration of Russian Doukhobor dissidents to Canada in 1899. Woodcock writes that Tolstoy's friend, the anarchist Peter Kropotkin, along with University of Toronto professor James Mavor played a crucial role in having Canada chosen as the destination for the Russian Doukhobors. Another friend of Tolstoy's, actor Leopold A. Sulerzhitsky, led the first shipload of migrants to Canada after which he stayed on to write an important book on travels with the Doukhobors, as Burlakova describes in her article. Tolstoy's "Law of Love" coincided with the inner values of the Doukhobors and was destined to lead to a homestead crisis in Canada and the loss of eleven million dollars worth of community property. In fact, as Szalasznyj explains, the land question mirrored the emergency of three different Doukhobor ideals regarding landowning: "the Community believed the land could be for its use but not for personal ownership; the Independents saw no conflict between being private farmers, Canadians and Doukhobors; and the Freedomites or Zealots, a small but ever-present group by 1907, would not consent to use the land, let alone to own it." As discussed by Yerbury and Whitworth, the zealots sought "first to demonstrate their contempt for worldly morality and materialism and, secondly, to challenge and resist government intrusion and to punish those of their co-religionists who they felt had betrayed the Doukhobor faith."

The system of Canadian liberties perhaps received its greatest test from the Doukhobors. Drawing on his doctoral dissertation, Jansen shows how the bias toward individual rights in Canada's political culture complicated the effort of the Doukhobors to gain group liberties. It is ironic that the collective punishment in British Columbia's *Community Regulation Act* violated the government's professed commitment to individual rights and responsibilities. Another test to Canada's civil liberties involved the treatment of minorities in its public schools. "Clearly," as Friesen demonstrates, "the Doukhobor experience in Canada demonstrates cultural discrimination of the worst kind. Without any serious investigation by national authorities it was assumed that with the absence of a formalized, *written* body of literature, their way of life was void of cultural content. When elements of it were identified, it was immediately assumed that their culture was inferior to that of the emerging dominant Canadian lifestyle and must be eradicated."

Doukhobor oral traditions in the form of psalms, hymns and songs have survived the centuries. Perry rightly points out that their singing "emanates from the soul with the singer sensing the spiritual quality inwardly, and thoughtfully creating a sonorous, harmonious sound outwardly." For Peacock, the first scholar to systematically put Doukhobor a cappella singing into note music, "the sung Psalm is itself evidence that there is more to be filled than stomachs."

Aspects of material culture are covered by Inikova (Doukhobor dress), Burnham (textile making), and Bird (furniture). Ewashen describes three Doukhobor museums in Canada where many of the cultural artifacts are being housed with the difficulties that face most small museums today.

Readers wishing to pursue the Doukhobor movement in greater depth will find the surveys by Tarasova and McIntosh of special interest. The collections they describe underline the wealth of available materials on Doukhobor life and history and suggest avenues for further research.

The first century of Doukhobor life in Canada can be evaluated variously. The key to understanding the distinctiveness of this legacy is reflected in two excerpts:

> Peacock: "With their devotion to pacifism and long track record of survival under harsh circumstances, the Doukhobors are uniquely equipped to cope with many of the problems facing humanity at the beginning of the twenty-first century. A century of living in Canada has introduced them to many Western technologies (and temptations!) which could help them sort out the spiritual gold from the material dross and embark upon a renewed quest for spiritual transformation...." And Elkinton: "It looks as if the Mennonites, Hutterites and the Doukhobors still have a key to this problem of living - and to peace.... It was good to find the Doukhobors after half a century in America so clear in their inner sense that war is wrong and that faithful Christians are followers of the Prince of Peace."

Both excerpts suggest that Doukhobor values such as nonviolence, cooperation, internationalism, hospitality, and hard work have come of age.

It was a rare honour for me as a professional ethnographer and a Doukhobor to be given this opportunity of participating in this Centennial anthology. We hope its readers will use the insights offered by our contributors to discover the spirit that first brought the Doukhobors into being some three centuries ago.

PART ONE: ASPECTS OF IDEOLOGY

Group portrait, unidentified Doukhobor family, B.C., circa 1924. (CMC no. 74-228)

THE DOUKHOBOR MOVEMENT IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURE: A PHILOSOPHICAL VIEW[*]

by
Maria Momonova

Whatever event in history we examine from a philosophical point of view, we invariably become convinced that the dates themselves are filled with a hidden inner meaning. This also applies to the hundredth anniversary of the Doukhobors, who courageously came out against the idea of war in 1895. Now, a century later, the entire world is approaching the third millennium of contemporary civilization (2,000 years since the birth of Christ). At the same time, humanity is entering a new kind of era: the Age of Aquarius, the [zodiacal] sign associated with Russia. In this way, the moral and spiritual values--and therefore the philosophical values as well -- that are inherent in Russia and in the Russian cultural consciousness are advancing to the forefront more and more from the spiritual point of view.

What are these values, and how have they been perceived and developed by the Doukhobors?

First of all it is very important to note that from the very beginning of their appearance on the historical scene, the Doukhobors have not been some sort of private, narrow and restricted religious sect or community. No, they have possessed above all a particular spiritual potential, striving to build their own way of life in accordance with their ideals of peace, goodness and love. It can be stated boldly that most of the specifically Russian philosophical ideas, as opposed to those borrowed from the West, were linked in one way or another with ideas of justice, beauty (spiritual beauty above all), goodness, and service to universal values. Much of nineteenth-century Russian philosophy is permeated by similar ideas.

Nikolai Fyodorov (1828-1903), a representative of Russian cosmism, is one example of an interesting thinker for this period. Idealizing community, neighbourhood and spiritual brotherhood, Fyodorov considered any property and any aggression to be unjust. His "philosophy of the common cause" aimed at achieving human immortality was founded on equality, love and the overcoming of any enmity in mankind, any gap between word and deed, between the "learned" and the "unlearned", and between the countries of the world. It is interesting to note that the very word *mir* in the Russian language is exceptionally polysemantic: it means not only the absence of war (peace) but also the inhabited oecumene (the world) and the collective life of the community. These three very important meanings are tightly intertwined, forming a general philosophical series of perceptions of reality: a world in which there is no war, but rather collective mutual assistance and fraternal neighbourliness.

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[*] Translated from Russian.

Another important concept in traditional Russian philosophy in that of *Sofiya (Sophia)*. In translation from the Greek, received from Byzantium, it means "wisdom". But not only that. Our homeland's greatest thinker, Vladimir S. Solovyov (1853-1900), added a somewhat different and strictly Russian content to this concept. The entire life of this philosopher, who exerted a great influence on Lev N. Tolstoy (1828-1910), consisted of a tireless struggle for the ideas of a high calling for mankind; for unity of the ideal and its implementation on earth. A just end, Vladimir Solovyov believed, cannot be achieved by unjust means. Therefore, he interpreted *Sophia* not simply as wisdom, but also as the spirit of the *mir*, the ideal form of love. The earthly *mir* had fallen away from the Deity, wrote Solovyov, but all this multitude of quarrelling elements must be reconciled with itself and with God, and must be reborn in the form of a new humanity.

From the example of these two major thinkers of Russia in the past century, we see that the ideas of struggle against violence, of love and peace never abandoned the Russian spiritual soil, and nourished with their life-giving juices the philosophy of those groups that decided to bring these ideals to fruition in practical life itself. The link joining the intellectual, "ivory-tower" philosophy to broad sections of society turned out to be that very well-known trend, "Tolstoyism".

Lev Tolstoy, the great Russian writer and thinker, devoted many of his meditations to the problems of history, personality [or the individual], war and power, and human morality. Vladimir Solovyov, while basically a metaphysicist and a classical philosopher, nevertheless wrote his principal work, *Opravdaniye dobra* [The Justification of the Good] on morality and morals. Lev Tolstoy, being a writer, spoke out all the more passionately and powerfully in defence of spiritual values against money-grubbing, and of the ideals of morality, non-violence and goodness against an official, corrupt state. It seems to me that the Tolstoyan communes which began to form and spring up in Russia, and which were cruelly persecuted by the state of that time and the official church of those years, were based precisely on the ideas set forth in Tolstoy's celebrated works *Ispoved* ' [A Confession] and *V chyom moya vera*? [What I Believe]. Lev Tolstoy himself was excommunicated from the church for "heresy". In striving to create a community of free and equal peasants in place of a bureaucratic state, Tolstoy tried to revise many of the illusory values of modern civilization that distract the individual from the simple and eternal truths of his life. In stating quite justly that science is unable to solve the profound world-wide problems of mankind and quench its spiritual thirst, Tolstoy was often reproached for conservatism, for idealizing a patriarchal way of life and for fighting against progress.

In looking at the Doukhobor life style, we see that it, too, has opposed urbanistic civilization and retained a basically peasant nature. The Doukhobor communes have had their ploughmen and herdsmen, but also fine craftsmen, builders and artists who have revived the traditions of their fathers both materially and spiritually with each new generation. It is just this kind of continuity from one generation to the next that has kept the Doukhobors from dissolving into both Russian and, subsequently, Canadian society. After all, there were 7,500 of them in Canada after the repressions of 1899, but now they number about 30,000! This significant growth reflects not just an increase in population during a hundred-year period, but a continuation of the spiritual tradition of this community and these people, many of whom have long since ceased to live in unified hamlets or villages but have preserved a deep ideological link among themselves. In one of my conversations with Tamara, daughter of the well-known Canadian Doukhobor activist, ethnographer and writer Koozma Tarasoff, I even heard these words in answer to my question: "I consider myself to be a Doukhobor first of all, then a Russian and then a Canadian." And yet Tamara belongs to the younger generation of Doukhobors, whose parents had already lived on Canadian soil for as long as they could remember. Such a preservation of the spiritual ties and the coinciding values of one's culture can only be welcomed. After all, objectively, the Doukhobors were, and continue to be, subjected to enormous pressure from urbanized civilization, from the culture of an industrial society, and from an Americanized way of life.

Believing that all power is an evil, Lev Tolstoy arrived at an unconditional rejection of all violence. The abolition of the army and the state, Tolstoy believed, must be achieved by peaceful means, through members of society abstaining from and avoiding participation in armed conflicts. "Civil diplomacy" and direct contact between ordinary people must replace the soul-less bureaucratic and political institutions. The followers of Tolstoy advocated "universal love" and non-violence against evil. In the Tolstoyan communes, the main philosophical and living principle was the moral and spiritual improvement of people as the only possible way of transforming society.

The official church and the authorities persecuted the Tolstoyan communes just as they did the Doukhobor communities. Exiled to Siberia and Transcaucasia, the Tolstoyans revived their communes, cultivated the land, and refused to pay taxes or perform military service. We know of instances in which the Tolstoyans helped to resolve outbreaks of internecine conflict by peaceful means. They themselves had no weapons and never used any.

Tolstoyism was not a purely Russian phenomenon. To be more precise, having emerged from the depths of the Russian national philosophy and psychology, it found adherents and followers in Western Europe, Japan and India. In the 1880s--1900s, Tolstoyan settlements were established in Great Britain and South Africa. The responsive chord struck by these ideas in such diverse cultures proves that they truly were for all mankind.

Summing up this historical retrospective, we can say that the Doukhobor movement inherited the spiritual tradition of Russian philosophical thought; that the Doukhobors used and reinforced practically the same high moral potential that was founded in the ideas of our country's thinkers. And like them, the Doukhobors also suffered persecution at the hands of the authorities.

Now let us turn to the second part of our brief analytical survey: what are the prospects for the Doukhobor philosophy in today's society? It is no accident that in beginning these remarks, I noted that the age of Aquarius--the zodiacal sign and "protector" of Russia--is at hand. What are the current philosophical trends? Without a doubt, the dry, scholastic, academic philosophy is receding more and more into the background. One thinks of Lev Tolstoy's prophetic words to the effect that pure science has no sense of what constitutes goodness and the true end of man. Modern man is buried under a pile of diverse knowledge, and does not know how to deal with it. Many philosophers and culturologists have long since sounded the alarm to the effect that despite the increase in scientific knowledge, the moral side of man is developing extremely slowly or even deteriorating It is no wonder that a sinister opposition between "culture" and "civilization" has arisen in the theory of culture. In the process, the concept of "culture" has been linked with such human values as wisdom, spirituality, collectivism and moral standards. "Civilization", on the other hand, has become synonymous with a mechanistic first principle in which man is nothing more than an appendage of the machine--a cog of scientific progress--and moral values are in no particular demand.

Also, it is no accident that world society began talking so loudly about the moral responsibility of scientists after the invention of the nuclear bomb. What was the philosophy of these people? What was their inner voice, the voice of their conscience, telling them? Tolstoy wrote that an answer to the question of the meaning of life can only be obtained from the reason and the conscience; not from abstract and impartial scientific data. This is brilliantly confirmed by the entire history of science, in which the talent of a scientist and his moral underpinning do not always coincide. In the light of this, the burning of weapons undertaken by the Doukhobors in 1895 looks even more symbolic. This act amounts to the implementation of a philosophical position in real life, with a credo not separated from objective reality but actively present in it. This unification of philosophy and life constitutes the particular importance of the Doukhobor movement in society today.

In actual fact, the effectiveness of people's philosophical position is taking on more and more significance in present-day society. Now, when the value of human life is coming to be recognized and when ordinary citizens--not politicians--are raising their voices against war, ivory-tower philosophy is purely of intellectual interest. I would note that in the twentieth century, the "Aquarian" trend in philosophizing has been broadening and strengthening. All humanistic philosophical ideas--from existentialism to the philosophy of life--are permeated by a common intention: to influence the contemporary, real life of man and to give it an element of conscious participation in the process of history. It seems to me that the most important thought behind democracy consists precisely in giving scope for self-expression to those people who are not at the helm of state but can exert a spiritual influence on historical events. For example, that remarkable weapons-burning day was such an event, when the Doukhobors publicly proclaimed their spiritual protest (a non-violent protest at that!) against a certain type of thinking that is dominated by violence.

Let us return again to Russian soil. In Old Russia, from ancient times, there existed whole spiritual centres that had no state power and yet had a colossal philosophical and spiritual influence on people's thinking and frame of mind. These were the hermit settlements; the *skity* and *pustoshi*. The renowned Optina Hermitage still existed in the nineteenth century; esteemed and authoritative *startsy* [elders] lived there (*starchestvo* [literally, "elderhood"] was a particular phenomenon in Russia). The *startsy* of Optina Hermitage possessed an enormous supply of spiritual energy, and they shared it generously with those who came for advice and moral support. Many of the greatest writers, such Lev Tolstoy, Fyodor Dostoevski, Nikolai Gogol and many others, spent time at the Optina Hermitage. In conversations with the *startsy*, who perpetuated the traditions of the Russian spiritual tutorship, the spiritual powers of the pilgrims grew stronger. In circumstances of cruelty, violence and barbarism, it is not easy to make one's own moral choice and resist the powers of evil. The clarity of spirit and firmness of will of the Optina hermits were passed on to those who arrived with doubts. The collective spiritual field created in this way carried an enormous positive charge. That amounts to an important distinguishing feature of the communal way of thinking, where the bearer of the philosophy is not only an isolated individual, but an entire commune, a *mir*. When one commune or another professes its own philosophy, that philosophy is transformed from a private matter to a common cause and becomes a factor in the historical process. If one solitary person burned his weapons, that would be an act of individual protest. But if a whole group jointly expresses its moral will, this is transformed into an act of historical significance.

Among the Doukhobors, the hundredth anniversary is not just a remembering of the past. It is a look into the future; a movement toward building new principles of morality and relations between people. In all the wars waged during its course, the twentieth century lost more than 150 million human lives: each of them in an inimitable, unique world capable of, and summoned toward, improvement.

Currently, when even in high politics there is talk about disarmament and "new thinking" for all of mankind, the peace-loving philosophy of the Doukhobors is undergoing a rebirth. Returning again to the horoscopes idea, we can recall a famous saying: "what the aquarians are thinking about now, humanity will only begin to understand in a hundred years.... ". Today the old prediction is coming true. Only now are people beginning to understand and appreciate the unique action taken by the Doukhobors a century ago to demonstrate their moral philosophy to the entire world.

SKOVORODA IN EARLY DOUKHOBOR HISTORY - FACT OR MYTH?

by
Victor O. Buyniak

Some of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century scholars of Doukhobor history believed that the philosopher Hryhory Skovoroda figured prominently as one of the spiritual founders of their religious ideology. Once recorded and published, these opinions were reiterated by subsequent researchers.[1] The purpose of this article is to determine whether there was such an influence, and to trace the historical development of such hypotheses on the part of the various scholars and researchers.

Hryhory (in Ukrainian: Hryhorii Savych; in Russian: Grigorii Savvich) Skovoroda was born on 3 December 1722, into a Ukrainian Cossack family of the Poltava region. At that time this area still formed a part of the so-called *Slobids'ka Ukraina*, the left-bank territory of the former Zaporozhian Cossack State.[2] Some important historical changes had occurred in this region during his lifetime. The Russian tsars had conducted a series of wars against the Ottoman Empire using, among their other troops, the Ukrainian Cossack regiments. More and more territory to the south was conquered from the Turks and became open for colonization and settlement. After the successful wars waged by Catherine II between 1768 and 1774, the Ottoman Empire ceded to Russia all the territories north of the Black Sea, including the Crimea. In 1755 Catherine disbanded the Zaporozhian Cossack regiments and their territory was divided into Russian *goubernias* (administrative units).[3] Catherine encouraged the settlement of these lands by new colonists, among them various religious dissenters, native and foreign.

Skovoroda received the finest education available at the time, including two years at the Mohyla Academy of Kiev, then at the peak of its educational splendour. After a few years in St. Petersburg, where his beautiful voice and musical training earned him a position of musical director in the court choir of the Empress Elizabeth, he returned to his native land and, after 1750, wandered about Central Europe, learning Greek, Latin, German, Hebrew, even Hungarian. After his return, in 1753, he was invited to teach poetry at the Pereyaslav Seminary and, later, in 1759, he was lecturer at the Kharkiv (Russian: Kharkov) Academy. Devoting himself always to the task of knowing himself and his fellow-men, he believed firmly that humanity and human capabilities were as inherent in the peasant as in the lord. Deeply religious, he refused to accept the conventional theology of his time, and approached the pantheistic deism of the West. Although his dialogues and essays on literature were lost, his philosophical dialogues, published after his death, exerted a great influence upon later generations. Skovoroda's teachings were published in the form of poems, fables and songs. The authorities were not happy with his teaching at the Kharkiv Academy and Skovoroda decided to leave his post there in the late 1760's. From 1769 until his death, November 9th, 1794, in a village not far from Kharkiv, Skovoroda wandered about Ukraine and parts of Russia as a *strannyk*, an itinerant philosopher-theologian, living in the homes of the rich and the poor, incessantly teaching his way of life.[4]

The Doukhobors had been known earlier to the outsiders as Iconoclasts (Ikonobortsy) and Milk Drinkers (Molokane),[5] and they had already settled in Kharkiv, Katerynoslav (Russian: Yekaterinoslav) and Tambov regions by the middle of the eighteenth century.[6] Those from Tambov region believed they originated in Ukraine.[7] The term *dukhobortsy* (Spirit-Wrestlers) crystallized in 1785, when the Archbishop of Yekaterinoslav, Ambrosie, derisively coined it to describe the followers of Sylvan Kolesnikov.[8] They coexisted in friendly relations with the Molokane. The rejection of the Holy Script as a written source set the Doukhobors aside from other sectarians.[9] Another feature that distinguished them from a number of religious groups was that the tenets of their philosophy were not written down but were contained in oral tradition -- they were enshrined in the memory and the hearts of the faithful. In time, the collection of Doukhobor beliefs became known as the *Zhivotnaia kniga dukhobortsev* [Doukhobor Book of Life].[10] Some individuals, both insiders and outsiders, were or might have been very influential upon the formulation of these creeds, and Skovoroda might have been one of them.

As already mentioned, for Skovoroda man was the greatest riddle in life, and self-knowledge the most important means for its solution. His philosophical system embraces three aspects: the ontological, the cognitive, and the ethical. According to him, man is a microcosm reflecting the macrocosm. In order to get to know the universe one must first know oneself. Self-knowledge was for Skovoroda the first aim of philosophy which he approached with the Socratic maxim "Know thyself".[11] Like Socrates, he travelled on foot and taught his philosophy in market places and among friends and people who would listen to him. His personality may be compared with that of Lev Tolstoy (a great admirer of his), in his common striving for a simple life, in the midst of common folk, as well as in their strong moralizing tendencies.[12] Skovoroda was known to carry all his worldly possessions in a bag, among them a Hebrew Bible and a flute, both of which he was very fond. It was this unorthodox style of preaching and travelling which had a profound impact on peasant masses and which endeared him to them.[13] Since Skovoroda was known to visit a large number of localities not only in Ukraine proper but also in the southern part of Russia, he may have come in contact with dissidents and sectarians in those parts, who would have been exposed to his teachings. Undoubtedly, the significance of Skovoroda's instruction had a much wider implication than Ukraine proper.[14]

The dearth of documentation regarding the life and precepts of Skovoroda and the origin of the Doukhobors and their philosophical tenets that gave rise to hypotheses concerning his impact on their beliefs. Because Skovoroda disseminated his philosophy mainly by means of discourses, and since the religious tenets of the Doukhobors remained for a long time in oral form, passed from generation to generation, some investigators of Doukhoborism were inclined to see similarities between his teachings and the Doukhobors' practices and some have postulated that Skovoroda played a leading role in the development of Doukhoborism.

It is significant that Skovoroda's *Katekhyziz* [Catechism under the name of "The Chief Gate to Christian Morality"], compiled in 1766 and revised in 1780, outlines some rudimentary principles of Christianity similar to the ones which early Doukhobors held dear.[15] It also may have been significant, or coincidental, that a Russian Senator, Ivan Vladimirovich Lopukhin, who in 1801 travelled to the Doukhobors in the Kharkiv province on Alexander I's mission, wrote and published earlier, in 1790, a *Katekhiziz* as well.[16] Both Skovoroda and the Doukhobors believed in a simple pure life and in abstinence -- a life characterized by meekness and humility vis-à-vis their neighbours in the biblical sense. They denounced individual property and did not view favourably the amassment of material goods. The Doukhobors were courteous in their dealings with strangers but they did not recognize ranks or offices. This was precisely Skovoroda's attitude. One could quote the well-known incident when he refused to recognize the Governor Shcherbinin so long as the latter insisted on being addressed by his official title, but accepted him as his equal on the basis of his first name and patronymic.[17]

Thus, in the second half of the 18th century, when Skovoroda was engaged in his wanderings and teaching, the Doukhobors were residing on the same territory where he was preaching. Mutual contacts and interaction of the two are not excluded, although definite proofs of such relations lack written documentation. Nevertheless, the very probability of personal contacts contributed to the spreading of certain myths and suppositions regarding Skovoroda and the Doukhobors. These myths occasionally made their way into the published works of various researchers. Let us consider one such account presented in a book by a Canadian author:

> After Kolesnikoff's death, a bearded pilgrim strode into the village holding a Hebrew Bible in one hand and a flute in the other. His name was Gregory S. Skovoroda (1722-94). He was trained for priesthood. He was a wandering philosopher, a Theologian, who had escaped from the famous monastery "Pecherskaja Lavra" in Kiev, pretending he was insane. This stranger lived among the Doukhobors about ten years and vanished as mysteriously as he came.
>
> He composed songs for the Doukhobors and made melodies to their psalms. He played them on the flute until they could be memorized. The Doukhobors are still lolling these melodies.
>
> He wrote down "The Confession of Faith of the Doukhobors in the Ekaterinoslaw Province". This catechism was handed over to Governor Kakhovsky in Ekaterinoslaw in 1791. This was the first written statement that came from a Doukhobor community.[18]

Aylmer Maude (1858-1938), Tolstoy's friend and translator of his works into English, who was involved in the negotiations with the Canadian authorities concerning the immigration of the Doukhobors into this country in 1899, had the following to say in this regard:

> That, under the circumstances of the time, this peasant sect should have been able to formulate such reasonable and coherent views ... seems wonderful; but what we know of the life of the philosopher, Gregory Skovoroda, who, reports say, drew up for the Doukhobors the confession of faith they supplied to the Governor of Ekaterinoslav, throws some light on this manner in which such ideas were formulated.[19]

Maude adds that a man of the type of Skovoroda could perform a great service for the peasant masses. Among other things, Skovoroda was a musical composer whose verses and tunes were still popular with the Molokane in the first decade of the 20th century.[20] The fertile period of psalm composition, the late 18th - early 19th century, was the time when the psalms (which were the chief Doukhobor-produced historical sources) originated. They have been garnered from other, non-Doukhobor, sources.[21]

The first researcher on Doukhobors and Doukhoborism was Orest Markovich Novitsky (1806-84), student of the Kiev Academy, who prepared his treatise on the subject to fulfil the requirements for a degree in theology, later professor of philosophy at the University of Kiev until 1850.[22] His work appeared in book form for the first time in 1832. Later, he expanded and published a second edition in 1883. Novitsky does not mention the connection of Skovoroda with the Doukhobors. However, he admits that the above-mentioned "Confession of Faith", compiled in 1791, indicates an authorship of someone well-educated: the profound knowledge of the Bible, the acquaintance with foreign languages, an elaborate, polished style and some words and expressions totally unfamiliar to illiterate people.[23]

It was Novitsky's critic, G. Varadinov, who, while reviewing the former's book, advanced the theory that Skovoroda had a pronounced influence on the Doukhobors. He criticized Novitsky for not mentioning it in his book on the Doukhobors.[24] Varadinov was convinced that Skovoroda contributed greatly to the dissemination of the Doukhobor beliefs in the Kharkov Gubernia, and that the Molokane copied his works, used his verses, and sang the psalms adapted by him.[25]

Later students of Skovoroda's philosophy and biography, in addition to sharing or refuting the points of view of Novitsky or Varadinov pertaining to this subject, advanced some new hypotheses. For example, V. F. Ern, a Skovoroda biographer, believed that in the person of the philosopher there was the make-up of a potential sectarian, and, moreover, that Skovoroda was the initiator of the Russian Slavophile movement.[26] Another prominent Skovoroda scholar, D. I. Bahalii, admits, like Ern, that the philosopher stood in some form of silent opposition to the official Orthodox Church, without, however, being its enemy in principle.[27] But he was as much against the dogmatism and intolerance of any established Church as he was against the superstitions and the fanatical beliefs of the sectarians.[28] Skovoroda was opposed in general to all sets of philosophical rules which compelled a man to follow a rigid interpretation of faith.[29]

Similarly, nineteenth-century students of Russian sectarianism speculated on the possibilities of Skovoroda's influence on the spiritual beliefs of the Doukhobors and the Molokane. Thus, F. V. Livanov, a writer and a government official, concluded that in all the archival material which he had used in his research he could not find corroboration that Skovoroda might be, on some basis, considered as the philosopher of one of these sects. Livanov concluded that some attitudes of the sectarians appealed to Skovoroda, as, for example, the contempt for objects made of gold or silver, but there was no general convergence of his views and theirs.[30] What the researcher found was a document (listed as No. 32, Case of 1802, Archives of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs) which mentioned that the Molokane, especially those residing in the south, had been using some of Skovoroda's adaptations of psalms and melodies, in particular his *Vsiakomu horodu* [To Every City], on certain festive occasions.[31] According to P.N. Malov, another researcher, A. S. Lebedev, a professor of church history, in his work, *Dukhobortsy v slobodskoi Ukrainie* [The Doukhobors in Eastern Ukraine], *Istorichesko-Filologicheskoe Obshchestvo* (The Historico-Philological Society), 1803, mentions an 1801 criminal case against the Doukhobors, where the name of a witness was Skovoroda. Obviously, this must have been another person with the same name, since Hryhory Skovoroda had died in 1794.[32]

Paul N. Miliukov (1859-1943), a historian of Russian culture, says the following on the subject:

> It is significant that the ardent and popular preaching of the famous Ukrainian mystic and philosopher, Gregory Skovoroda, dates from that period (between the sixties and nineties of the eighteenth century) in which the sect of the Doukhobors was founded. Gregory Skovoroda, while not a member of any sect, was a Sectarian in spirit; except for the doctrine on reincarnation, his views were identical with those of the Doukhobors, and he frankly called himself an "Abrahamite" (a Bohemian sect similar to the Doukhobors) in his letters to friends. 'Let everyone else do as he pleases,' he wrote, 'I have devoted myself wholly to seeking the divine wisdom. We were born to that end, and I live by it, think of it day and night, and by it I shall die.' In all Skovoroda's works, so highly praised by Russian Sectarians, Spiritual Christianity is ardently propagated.[33]

Certainly, such axioms as "compared to faith the ceremonies are as husk to the grain or compliments to true kindness,"[34] could only endear Skovoroda to people like the Doukhobors who rejected the external rituals of religion.

The official confession of faith written by the Yekaterinoslav Doukhobors and presented to Governor Kahovsky during their imprisonment in 1791, bears close similarity to the ideas of Skovoroda, although a direct influence is impossible to prove. The most probable inference is that when the confession was prepared the same ideas had been more or less adopted by all Spiritual Christians. From this confession, however, it is evident that the writers were possessed of natural eloquence and skilful literary expression. In spite of defects in the exposition, the ideas presented make up a complete and harmonious system, possessing a philosophical basis similar to that of ancient Gnosticism.[35]

From the above exposition it becomes evident that the speculations or suppositions of various Skovoroda biographers, students of Russian philosophy or of Russian sectarianism may have persuaded later scholars that Skovoroda really was a founder or philosopher of this or that religious movement. These scholars included Vladimir Dmitrievich Bonch-Bruevich (1873-1955), the well-known Marxist, writer, historian, ethnographer, and student of Russian sectarianism.[36] Because of his political and scholarly prestige, his theories concerning the role of Skovoroda in the formation of various Russian sects (including that of Doukhoborism) were widespread.

In searching for a prototype of communal living, Bonch-Bruevich became interested in various sects, among them, the Doukhobors. He believed that the Doukhobors lived on the basis of a communal system and as such were the closest, among the Russian peasants, to the tenets of Communism. He came with the Doukhobors to Canada in June 1899, and lived with them in this country until the end of January 1900.[37] He also visited those who remained in the Caucasus in the spring of 1910.[38] His interest, and that of other researchers in the life and the beliefs of the Russian sectarians culminated in a project to publish a number of works dealing with this subject, entitled, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des sectes russes*. The editor of this series, Bonch-Bruevich, appealed to those interested to send material about the sects either to himself or to Vladimir Chertkov's Publishing House in England. Unfortunately, owing to adverse circumstances at the time, Bonch-Bruevich was able to publish only a small number of the projected volumes.

One of his books expressed the idea that the philosophical views and opinions of Skovoroda resembled those of the sect known as New-Israel. He wrote:

> Already in 1900, when I began to study systematically the *Weltanschauung* of the Russian Spiritual Christians -- the Israelitans, I also became acquainted with the works of Skovoroda. His ideas were similar to the socio-religious views widespread at that time in Russia, which were contemptuously called *khlystovstvo* (flagellatory) by the clergy. We are firmly convinced that Skovoroda was one of the main theoreticians of the Russian "Spiritual Christians". His works represent a revealing exposé of all that was discussed around him

> clandestinely by the peasant masses. We are convinced that he added to these views and further developed them, thus exerting an enormous influence on the formation of thought which kept circulating among the members of these socio-religious groups, ever growing in strength in spite of all the preventive measures (by the authorities). If anyone wishes to learn and to understand the ancient teachings of the "Spiritual Christians" which have reached our times he should study thoroughly the works of Skovoroda.[39]

Bonch-Bruevich planned to give detailed proofs of Skovoroda's spiritual relationship with the Russian sectarians in the second volume of his publication which was to be dedicated to an exposition of the thinker's philosophy. Again, unfortunately, this sequel never appeared in print.[40] A number of later Skovoroda scholars criticized Bonch-Bruevich's edition of Skovoroda's works with regard to his subjective attempt to connect him with the world of the Russian sectarians.[41]

M. P. Red'ko, whose work reflects the Soviet evaluation of Skovoroda's philosophy, denies any possibility of the philosopher's having been a founder or spiritual mentor of any Russian or Ukrainian religious sect. He considers as groundless the attempts by Miliukov and Bonch-Bruevich to mould Skovoroda into a latent sectarian.[42] He rejects Bonch-Bruevich's endeavours to equate the philosopher with the Russian Spiritual Christians -- especially in considering him one of the chief theoreticians of the New-Israel sect.[43] According to Red'ko, Bonch-Bruevich exaggerated the importance of sectarians in peasant movements before the Revolution of 1905. However, Red'ko assures the reader that toward the end of his life Bonch-Bruevich had already changed his previous opinions and did not insist on Skovoroda being the theoretician of the Doukhobor sect.[44]

Red'ko discounts also as inconclusive the opinion that some of Skovoroda's works were current among the Doukhobors and the Molokane during the 19th century, as attested by Varadinov and Livanov. This did not prove in itself that their author belonged to these sects or was consciously involved in shaping their philosophical tenets.[45] Another contemporary Soviet Russian scholar, Aleksandr Ilich Klibanov, devotes considerable space in his work arguing that Skovoroda was connected spiritually with the Doukhobors and that the "Confession of Faith" of 1791 was written by him.[46]

Thus, the extant written evidence so far does not provide a conclusive proof of Skovoroda's involvement with the Doukhobors. In his own opinion, he viewed sectarianism with scepticism. He always objected strongly when anyone tried to accuse him of belonging to any sectarian movement. He would say: "The love of one's neighbour is non-denominational and non-sectarian".[49] The philosopher, in his long and fruitful life, did show at times some unorthodox tendencies and beliefs with regard to the official Church of the day. Nevertheless, he never severed relations with this Church.[50] Any influence that his works or teachings might have exerted on the religious philosophy of the Doukhobors or other similar sects were coincidental and, apparently, non-intentional.[51] Nowhere in the documents can one find any direct indications of his being consciously involved in establishing or actively supporting such sects. Nor is there any sound indication of his being indebted in the formulation of his own *Weltanschauung* to any ideas or beliefs of the Doukhobors or other Spiritual Christians of the time.

Endnotes

1. See Buhr, John D. (1972). The Origin of the Doukhobor Faith. A contribution to Doukhobor and Mennonite history in Russia and Canada [Clearbrook, B.C.] 1972. Holt, Simma. (1964). *Terror in the Name of God*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, p. 11; Fry, Gary Dean. (1976). The Doukhobors, 1801-1855: The Origins of a Successful Dissident Sect. Washington: The American University, Ph.D. Dissertation, p. 35.

2. *Ukrains'kyi Radians'kyi Entsyklopedychnyi Slovnyk* [Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopaedic dictionary], Kiev, 1966, v. 3, p. 297.

   N.B. All the translations from Ukrainian and Russian are by this writer.

3. *Ibid.* See also Kutash, Ihor George. (1986). Happiness in the Thought of Hryhorii S. Skovoroda. Montreal: McGill University. Ph.D. Dissertation, p. 11.

4. Kutash, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

5. Novitsky, Orest. (1832). *O dukhobortsakh* [About the Doukhobors] Kiev: pri Krevopecherskoi Lavr., p. 4

6. *Ibid.*, p. 15; Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

7. Fry, p. 39; Woodcock, George and Ivan Avakumovic. (1968). *The Doukhobors*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, p. 27.

8. Novitsky, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Fry, p. 47; Tarasoff, Koozma J. (1982). *Plakun Trava*: The Doukhobors. Grand Forks: Mir Publication Society, p. 3.

9. Fry, p. 22.

10. See Bonch-Bruevich, Vladimir (ed.). (1954) *Zhivotnaia kniga dukhobortsev* Published by the Union of Doukhobors of Canada. Winnipeg: Regehr's Printing; *The Book of Life of Doukhobors*. (1978). Translated version. Saskatoon: published privately by Sam G. Stupnikoff.

11. Kutash, passim. The universe had two aspects for him, one visible and material, which was worthless, and the other invisible and spiritual, which was of inestimable value and to which alone man's life should be dedicated. However, the search for truth is not an end in itself, but only a means which prompts man to exercise his will and to use his heart. The significance of Skovoroda's philosophy lies not in theoretical speculations, but in a practical quest for happiness. The aim of human life is happiness -- however, only the kind of happiness which comes to man when he fulfills his inner quest and, through it, God's will, and not the happiness which results from material satisfaction. Thus the major premises of Skovoroda's philosophy are self-knowledge, and living one's life according to the natural order and, therefore, in accord with God.

12. Drach, I. F., Krymskyi, S.B. and Popovych, M. V. (1984) *Hryhorii Skovoroda*. Kiev, p. 108.

13. Bahalii, Dmytro Ivanovych. (1926). *Ukrains'kyi mandrovanyi filosof, Hryhorii Savych Skovoroda* [The Ukrainian Itinerant Philosopher, Gregory Savych Skovoroda]. Kiev, pp. 188-9.

14. Zankovskii, V. V. (1948) *Istoria russkoi filosofii* [History of Russian Philosophy]. Paris, v. I, p. 65.

15. Skovoroda, Hryhorii. (1961). *Tvory v dvokh tomakh* [Works in Two Volumes]. Kiev, v. i, pp. 14-26;Skovoroda, Hryhorii. (1973). *Povne zibrannia tvoriv u dvokh tomakh* [Complete Works in Two Volumes]. Kiev, v. I, pp. 144-53; Kutash, pp. 185-200; information on the early religious philosophy of the Doukhobors can be obtained from sources cited in this article.

16. See Fry, pp. 83-99.

17. Similarly, Peter Vasilevich Verigin while dispatching to the Empress his letter-petition, addressed her simply as "Sister". There are many other similar points of convergence in philosophies and beliefs of the Doukhobors and of Skovoroda.

18. Buhr, *op. cit.*, p. 37; A different variant of this story can be found in Simma Holt's *op. cit.*, p. 11.

19. Maude, Aylmer. (1905). *A Peculiar People. The Doukhobors*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., p. 115.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 116 and 117.

21. Fry, pp. 23-4.

22. *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* [The Encyclopaedic Dictionary]. St. Petersburg, 1893, v. 41, p. 258.

23. See Novitsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-6.

24. See G. Varadinov, "O dukhobortsakh" [About the Doukhobors], *Istoria ministerstva vnutrennikh del* [History of the Ministry of the Interior], 1863, *op. cit.*, passim.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Ern, V. F. (1912). *G.S. Skovoroda. Ego zhizn' i uchenie* [His Life and Teaching]. Moskva, p. 325.

27. *Ibid.*; Bahalii, *op. cit.*, p. 147; Kutash, p. 12.

28. Bahalii, p. 148; Kutash, p. 12.

29. Bahalii, p. 148.

30. See F.V. Livanov, *Molokane i dukhobortsy v Ukrainie i Novorossii 18-go veka* [The Molokane and the Doukhobors in Ukraine and New Russia in the 18th Century], *Vestnik Evropy* [The European Herald], October, 1868; *Ukrainskii filosof G. S. Skovoroda sredi molokan i dukhobortsev* [G. S. Skovoroda, the Ukrainian Philosopher, among the Molokane and the Doukhobors], *Novoe vremia* [New Times], 1869, No. 168; and *Raskol'niki i ostrozhniki* [Dissenters and Convicts], St. Petersburg, 1870, v. II, pp. 288-99. See also Red'ko, M. P. (1967) *Svitohliad H.S. Skovorody* [The World View of G. S. Skovoroda]. Lviv, pp. 236-37; cf. Georges Roussov, "G.S. Skovoroda et sa lutte contre le matérialisme", in *Études slaves et est-européennes*, v. 11, part I, 1957, pp. 15-30.

31. Bahalii, p. 338.

32. Malov, P. N. (1948). *Dukhobortsy, ikh istoria, zhizn i borba* [The Doukhobors, Their History, Life and Struggle]. Winnipeg: by the author, p. 236.

33. Miliukov, Paul. (1942). *Outlines of Russian Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, part I, p. 94.

34. Miliukov, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 98.

35. Cf. Novitsky, pp. 44-6.

36. For Bonch-Bruevich see: Tarasoff, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

37. See *The Book of Life of Doukhobors*, p. 6.

38. See Bonch-Bruevich, Vladimir. (1922). *Iz mira sektantov* [The World of Sectarians]. Moskva, pp. 41-77.

39. *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des sectes russes*. (1912) . Livraison 5, rédigé par V. Bonch-Bruevich, St. Petersburg. *Sobranie sochinenii G. S. Skovorody* [Collection of G. S. Skovoroda's Works], v. I, pp. VII-VIII.

40. Bahalii, p. 337; Kutash, p. 89.

41. See Bahalii, p. 225; Red'ko, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-38.

42. Red'ko, p. 238.

43. *Ibid*.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

47. Field, Daniel. (1980). A Far-off Abode of Work and Pure Pleasures. Review article of: A. I. Klibanov, *Narodnaia sotsialnaia utopia v Rossii* [Popular Social Utopia in Russia], in *The Russian Review*, v. 39, No. 3, July 1980, pp. 348-58. Klibanov's work was published in 2 volumes in Moscow, 1976-78; v. I, *Period feodalizma* [The Feudal Period], and v. II, *XIX vek* [The 19th Century].

48. See Kutash, p. 12.

49. Drach, Krymskyi, Popovych, *op. cit.*, p. 185; Kutash, p. 12.

50. Kutash, p. 12.

A View from Within:

TOLSTOY AND HIS *RESURRECTION*

by

Peter S. Faminow

If it had not been for the Doukhobors and the necessity to raise money for their mass exodus, Lev Tolstoy might never have finished his *Resurrection*.

It seems to me that it was the practical life of the Doukhobors that Lev Tolstoy had so warmly cherished, wrote about and helped financially. Take a few samples of life one lived in the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood - the Doukhobor commune that failed...

Living under the slogan, "Toil and Peaceful Life", all members of the Community contributed their services to the whole of the society rather than grabbing for each individual self - a kind of collective effort by all its members, without any material compensation for the services of each; living as a unit of fifty-odd souls, as they were referred to; eating together at one table; the women in couples, alternatively preparing all the meals; all persons doing the field work in shares, and without pay; the children receiving but a dime or a quarter on weekends for an ice-cream cone or a candy bar; all the work was considered as play, and all the services were performed for the joy of working and for the Brotherhood.

Their doctrine of non-violence cannot be overemphasized and the celebration of the Burning of Firearms [in 1895] is a worthy effort. Our forefathers declared one hundred years ago that *all* wars are evil, and they died for its principle. This declaration, then, is worthy of remembrance. Today we appreciate that wars are considered unworthy. Even the United Nations, which celebrates its fifty years of existence in 1995, is attempting to implement consensus resolutions of disputes...

But the collapse of the Doukhobor Community's utopian dream deserves comment. The reasons are several: (1) the internal problems and management of the Society; (2) the external pressures of the materialistic, individual vast society - against the collective few; and (3) the lack of true leadership for the first thirty years at the beginning of the 20th Century. Leaders and writers like Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Melville could have propelled the very ideals of the Doukhobor Society in search of *universal brotherhood*.

There seems to me that there is no more room in the social order of this cosmos for small groups or societies to search for universal brotherhood. What then must we do? Must the ashes of the burnt guns fade away into oblivion for which our forefathers died and declared over one hundred years ago that "all wars are evil" and must stop? No, they shall never be forgotten today and in the days to come. Yet surely the brotherhood of man must reign. The world must do to the atom bomb what Doukhobors did to the guns. Our forefathers have heroically earned their place in history and shall be remembered in perpetuity. As for me... I have never forgotten their peaceful crusade for the preservation of Mankind. So let us all stand and sing a song to them (from a song composed by J.J. Planidin):

Sleep all you peaceful falcons,
Sleep with a quiet soul,
You have earned our dear ones -
Memory in our hearts and eternal rest...

PART TWO: THE SONG TRADITION

Doukhobor prayer home (*dom*), Grand Forks, B.C., and congregation, circa 1924. (CMC no. 74-170)

DOUKHOBOR SINGING THROUGH THE TWENTIETH CENTURY - A LEGACY

by
Shirley Perry

A legacy, as defined by The World Book Encyclopedia Dictionary, is "something that has been handed down by an ancestor or predecessor." For the majority of people with a Doukhobor heritage the legacy of song is one of the most deeply cherished aspects of their tradition and way of life.

Whenever Doukhobors meet collectively, choral singing always has an integral role to play. Doukhobors meet collectively for many reasons, typically, for regular prayer meetings; special holidays (eg. Christmas, Easter and the New Year); commemorative occasions honouring some aspect of Doukhobor history (eg. the annual Peace Day or Peter's Day; Declaration Day); announcements of engagement; celebrations of marriage; funerals; remembrance services for the deceased after six weeks and again after one year; choir festivals sponsored by the youth and participated in by people of all ages; forums on issues of current interest; welcoming friends and visitors or wishing them happiness on their journey; meals in private homes or community centres when guests are present; and for parties. There are appropriate and favourite songs for each of these occasions.

Doukhobor melodies and the unique Doukhobor style of singing have been passed on through successive generations over several centuries as a result of aural tradition. The sacred and secular songs of the Doukhobor song heritage are sung a cappella and always contain richly improvised harmonies. In fact, singing in harmony is a basic component of Doukhobor singing. Unison choral singing may occur with the youngest children, however it would rarely be a part of adult singing and only used for a special effect.

At its best, Doukhobor singing emanates from the soul with the singer sensing the spiritual quality inwardly and thoughtfully creating a sonorous, harmonious sound outwardly. Sharing the uniqueness of one's own vocal colour, listening to the surrounding voices and blending with them, and singing the lead or harmony line confidently and creatively are emphasized. Strict metrical precision is a less pre-eminent factor.

Canadian Doukhobor Song Text Collections

There are two published song collections used extensively by Canadian Doukhobors. The first collection is *Dukhovnye stikhi i narodnye pesni dukhobortsev v Kanade* (Spiritual Hymns and Folksongs of

Doukhobors of Canada) collected, edited and published by N. N. Kalmakoff. Initially published in 1959 by the Doukhobor Society of Canada (where the author was its secretary-treasurer), it was published privately in 1973, then reprinted in 1986; revised and reprinted in January, 1987; a glossary was added in February 1987; it was improved for spellings and punctuations and reprinted in 1989; and, completely re-typed, and slightly revised for another printing in 1990. The second collection is *Sbornik dukhoborcheskikh psalmov, stikhov i pesen* (Doukhobor Psalms, Hymns and Songs) edited by A. P. Markova and P. P. Legebokoff. It was published by the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ (U.S.C.C.) in Grand Forks, British Columbia in 1978.

In both these collections Russian song texts without musical notation; authorship of the text is indicated, when known, in both collections. Anecdotal information sometimes follows a song in the second collection. In addition, lists of songs appropriate for specific situations and a list of psalms (with an indication of which are sung) appear in the appendices of the second collection.

Main Song Categories of Doukhobor Repertoire

There are three main categories of song in the Doukhobor repertoire: the *psalmi*, the *stikhi*, and the *pesni*.

The *psalmi* are prayers. The texts for the *psalmi* may include direct quotation of Biblical (Old and New Testament) scripture; a paraphrase of scripture; counsel for appropriate conduct with others; admonition and so on.

The *stikhi* are generally referred to as hymns. There are two types of *stikhi* - namely the *starinii stikhi* or Old Verses, and the *dukhovnye stikhi* referred to as the Spiritual Songs. The texts for the Old Verses and Spiritual Songs are generally sacred; sometimes allegorical; and occasionally historical.

The *pesni* are songs with secular texts. They may recount a humorous situation; tell a story; be love songs or nostalgic songs. The *pesni* function as songs for entertainment and generally are sung at parties, festivals and concerts when a light-hearted atmosphere is intended.

A collection of song titles in the two collections cited above shows a body of 959 texts: specifically 204 *psalmi*, 535 *stikhi* (Old Verses and Spiritual Songs) and 220 *pesni*.

The Singing Style of the *psalmi*

As indicated earlier, the *psalmi* are prayers. In the Doukhobor tradition prayers are recited. Many of the prayers have been set to melodies. In a typical worship service, after a psalm is sung, it will be followed by the recited version. The sung version of a psalm usually has three verses, which may encompass about the first one-third of the psalm text. The recited text contains the entire text.

The *psalmi* are the most challenging-to-sing part of the Doukhobor repertoire. Of the 204 *psalmi* indexed in the Markova and Legebokoff collection, 102 are indicated as being sung. In practice, in the 1990s, about 30 *psalmi* are in common use for singing, and the melodies of perhaps 30 others are known to exist. This part of the Doukhobor repertoire is rapidly disappearing.

In 1988 this writer began musically notating and analyzing the sacred portion of the Doukhobor repertoire, of which the *psalmi* are a part. From an analytical perspective, the following observations have been made. The *psalmi* are melismatic, with one syllable typically sung on a dozen or more pitches, and one verse containing from six to 15 syllables. The meter is predominantly mixed 2/4 and 3/4 meter. The scales and modes include doh-pentachord, la-pentachord, ionian, dorian, mixolydian, aeolian, phrygian, and sometimes a combination of mixolydian and aeolian. The singing ranges vary from a major sixth to a major tenth. Rhythmic values included half notes, dotted quarters and eights, quarter notes, and eighth notes, predominantly. Syncopation obtains rarely. Anacrusis (up-beat) is also rare. Other characteristic features of the *psalmi* are the use of staggered breathing to produce a continuous sound, the text based on prose rather than poetry, no obvious delineation of phrases, harmonies used more sparingly than in other types of Doukhobor songs, and slow tempos to create a relaxed, meditative atmosphere. The first two to four pitches of each verse of a psalm is begun by a solo voice and then the choir joins in.

Below is the musical notation of a one of the simplest psalms, *Dom nash blagodatnyi* (Our Devout Home). The notation was made from a recording done by respected Doukhobor elders. The Russian text and a transliterated text are provided with the notation. One will observe the melismatic character of the psalm, and specifically that the first verse is comprised of three words broken into six syllables. The performance time for this one verse is about one minute. The translated text is not intended for use as a sung text, but is included here for context only. Note the bolded text. The numbers 1, 2, and 3 indicate the corresponding Russian text sung in each verse. Again, one observes that there are relatively few syllables in each verse.

The performance practise of singing *psalmi* has changed considerably during the twentieth century particularly with respect to the tempo, the amount of text sung, and the use of extra non-text syllables. In interviews with elders in the Doukhobor community, the writer has been told that the singing of a *psalom* could take several hours when the entire text was sung. This is easily understood when the simplest of *psalmi* require at least one minute per verse to perform.

The tempos have become quicker since about the 1960s. One singer indicated that this phenomenon occurred when singing *psalmi* was made a mandatory component of a choir's performance repertoire for the annual Youth Festival. The function of *psalmi* is not entertainment, thus an audience could be less inclined to give the attention required to listen to the performance of a *psalom* with its slow tempo, melismatic character and so on. For the same reason, the typical singing of three verses of a *psalom* was reduced to two verses, and occasionally one verse, with the result that many of the younger singers today would find it difficult to sing the subsequent verses.

Other elders recall that when they were learning the *psalmi* they focussed on remembering the psalm melodies and paid less attention to the extra non-text syllables (eg. ah, ee). These extra syllables have essentially passed out of use in the latter part of the twentieth century.

Psalmi composed during the twentieth century tend toward a less melismatic and more syllabic character, as evidenced in a *psalom* such as *Dukhoborets tot kogo izbral Khristos* (A Doukhobor is One Whom Christ Has Chosen) which has 50 syllables in the first verse.

The *stikhi*

The two types of *stikhi*, namely the Old Verses (*starinii stikhi*) and the Spiritual Songs (*dukhovnye stikhi*), comprise the other part of the sacred song repertoire. The Old Verses are the bridge between the *psalmi* and the Spiritual songs with respect to performance style. Like the *psalmi*, the Old Verses are often melismatic in character; however, like the Spiritual Songs the entire text of the Old Verse is sung. The example, *A vy holubi* (Are You Doves), recorded in 1989, shows one stanza of this Old Verse. One observes that its melismatic character is very like that of the *psalom* shown earlier. The translation shows that the text has a poetic structure which is a shift in style from the prose of the psalm texts. Phrasing is also more obvious in the Old Verses than it was in the *psalmi*. In addition, harmonization in the Old Verses tends to be more frequent.

The Spiritual Songs comprise the largest subsection of songs in the Doukhobor repertoire. They are syllabic and strophic in character, often sung with a four-line verse followed by a refrain. One finds these songs the easiest to learn in the sacred repertoire. Similarly, harmonizing these melodies is usually easiest for the contemporary singer, perhaps due to the preponderance of major and minor, rather than modal, melodies. The tempos are generally faster than those of the *psalmi* and Old Verses.

The *pesni*

The *pesni* are the most light-hearted part of the Doukhobor repertoire. They often relay humorous situations, many are love songs. There are songs about the beauty of nature, and songs which make reference to working with the soil. The prime function of the *pesni* is entertainment, thus they would never be included as part of a formal worship ceremony. They would, however, be appropriate after a meal has been shared with guests, at which time folk will sit around the table and enjoy each other's company by sharing their songs.

Doukhobor Singing Today

Doukhobor singing continues today wherever Doukhobors meet. The greatest concentrations of Doukhobors is in Western Canada, which includes Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. Wherever there are enough like-minded young families, they are grouping together and giving their children the opportunity to learn the Russian language, to say the prayers and sing the songs of the Doukhobor heritage. There is also considerable interest in finding suitable English language translations for Doukhobor songs and prayers, particularly among those Doukhobors who are not fluent with the Russian language. There are Doukhobors who have a desire to maintain the Doukhobor ideals and have a preference for expressing those ideals and carrying on Doukhobor traditions using the English language. This represents another era of development within the tradition. Other ethnic groups, such as the Mennonites, have come to this juncture of language (i.e. from the old country and from the new country) and have been successful in making the transition. Some Doukhobors will also make a similar transition.

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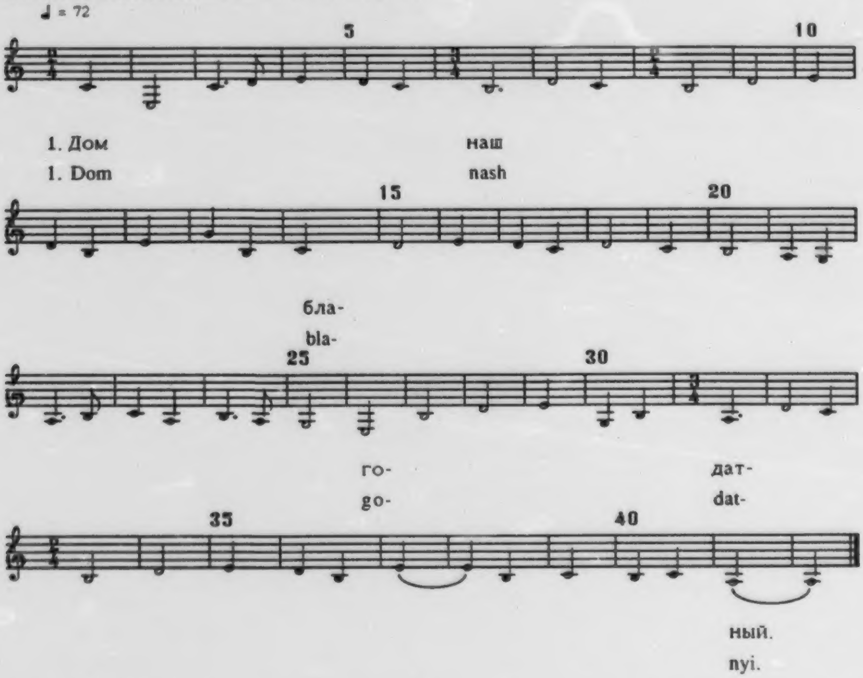
Appendix

A. Doukhobor psalm: *Dom nash blagodatnyi.*

Notation: Doukhobor Psalm
Example "DOM NASH"
Collection References: B. L. No. 313 Sb. p. 86

Singers: N. Voikin, M. Sherstobitoff,
L. Hoolaef, P. Popoff, N. Potapoff


♩ = 72
5
10
1. Дом
1. Dom
наш
nash
15
20
бла-
bla-
25
30
го-
go-
дат-
dat-
35
40
ный.
nyi.

Doukhobor Sunday School Tape
Kootenay Region

Master Tape of Psalms: (A:361-421)
Shirley Perry Collection

Translation:

Lord give us Thy Blessing:

[1]**Our devout home is** [2] **our hope in God,** [3] **our refuge in Jesus Christ**, the holy Protector on our way, for God is with us.

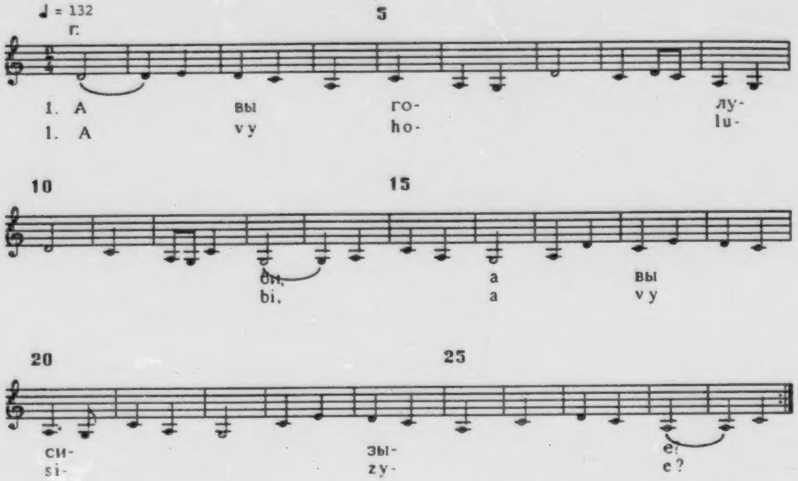
Glory be to our God. [**Bolded** text is sung.]

Translation from *Book of Life of Doukhobors*, tr. V.O. Buyniak, Winnipeg, 1954.

B. Doukhobor Old Verse: *A vy holubi*.

Notation: Doukhobor Old Verse
Example "A VY HOLUBI"
Collection References: K. 79 Sb. 440 B.L. No. 402

Singer:
Mary Sherstobitoff



Source: "Mary Sherstobitoff"
Date: Dec. 28,1989

Master Tape of Old Verses: (A:023-062)
Shirley Perry Collection

Translation: for Doukhobor Old Verse example, *A vy holubi*

Are you doves, are you dove-coloured (warm grey, bluish)?
We are not doves, we are not dove-coloured.
Are you swans, are you white?
We are not swans, we are not white.
We are angels, we are archangels,
We are on earth from the heavens, we are messengers.
The Lord sent us to every place of light
To every place of light, of white light.
Where did you fly, what did you see,
What did you see, what did you hear?
Well, we saw, and we heard
How the spirit takes its leave from the body,
Takes its leave and says good-bye:
Forgive me, and good-bye, my fair body,
Forgive me, and good-bye, my pampered body;
I lived in you, I pampered you,
But I, the spirit, neglected myself.
You, the body, will go to the damp earth,
And I, the spirit, will go the court/justice of God;
To the Christ Himself, to the Saviour, To the Saviour, the Redeemer.
TRANSLATION: Shirley Perry

CULTURE AND CONTINUITY - A PERSONAL REMINISCENCE OF THE NINETEEN-SIXTIES

by
Kenneth Peacock

My personal acquaintance with Doukhobors and Doukhoborism began in 1962 during a broad survey of European and Asian cultures across western Canada. Previous research had taken me to Newfoundland and Cape Breton and to several Indian communities in central and western Canada. In the decade following the 1962 survey I was immersed in an abundance of 'new' cultures which, though they taxed my powers of assimilation, certainly offered a unique opportunity to explore further the rich diversity of Canadian society.

After more than twenty-five years I found myself in possession of a sort of 'Personal Encyclopedia of Canadian Cultures' -- ranging from Aboriginals to Zealots -- which inspired me to report on each one as accurately and fairly as possible. At the same time I began, almost automatically, to correlate and contrast various aspects of these cultures with the hope of arriving at some sort of personal 'theory of culture.' Nothing ever materialized. In fact I became rather dispirited and, modifying Voltaire's famous epigram about history, I began to tell myself that "Culture is the illusion commonly agreed upon." Well, of course it is. But in some mysterious way it also reveals a more universal truth.

Ever since the beginning of my field researches in traditional music I found myself falling in love with certain cultures, usually those with a strong oral tradition, so different from the urban mass culture in which I was raised. First it was Newfoundland with its hundreds of tiny fishing villages where for over four hundred years the people had struggled in a harsh environment with uncommon stoicism and an unparalleled sense of humour. Then it was the singing and life-styles of various Indian cultures, particularly on the prairies. Speaking with native elders, many in their nineties, I felt it was possible even in the 1950s to catch at least a glimpse of the "morning of the world" from which they sprang. But when I met the Doukhobors and heard their singing a vast new dimension opened up. The ideals of their communal life-style were perfectly reflected in the intricate contrapuntal edifice of sound produced by the many choirs and congregations. In fact, singing and life-style interpenetrated to such a degree that it became impossible to imagine one without the other. I immediately resolved to make their music and culture my principal focus in 1963 and 1964.

At first the scope of the material was overwhelming -- everything from ancient psalms and hymns to recreational folksongs, drawn mostly from Russian tradition. But as I listened and re-listened to the field tapes certain patterns began to emerge. First, it was obvious that the choral sound was unlike the familiar soprano-alto-tenor-bass arrangements of church choirs, with the melody on top. In Doukhobor singing the principal melody was carried by a slight majority of men and women singing an octave apart. From this sturdy central core of sound a variety of cantilevered harmonies projected above and below the melody creating more individualized musical commentaries, so to speak, on the main melody. In the early psalms these embellishments were relatively simple, although two or three psalms sung by small groups of elders were of such surprising contrapuntal complexity that I found it virtually impossible to transcribe them into music notation.

Common to all the psalms was the use of staggered breathing to produce a continuous flow of sound. This device is sometimes used by professional choirs, but in Doukhobor singing its evolution seems to have been quite natural and undeliberate. In the hymns, with their more metrical texts, staggered breathing was not used. Part-singing in the form of duets, trios and quartets was a speciality of younger girls, particularly in the British Columbia communities. On the prairies this more intimate genre was the province of women, some of them quite elderly. Occasionally a solo singer, male or female, was accompanied by one of the choirs. I recall a particularly moving rendition by Anna Petrovna Markova of "Magnificently Stands the Great Mountain" with text by Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko.

When I was transcribing some of this musical material for my book (Peacock, 1970), I was constantly drawn to the beauty and often enigmatic nature of the texts, particularly the psalms and early hymns. Additional historical background provided by Eli A. Popoff and Koozma J. Tarasoff was also an inspiration. Unfortunately George Woodcock's excellent book (Woodcock and Avakumovic, 1968) was not available at the time. But as I perused the song texts and historical material it became obvious that many of the concepts and tenets of Doukhoborism far predated the year 1785 when, during the reign of Catherine the Great, the derisive nickname "Doukhobortsi" first appeared, an attribution usually assigned to Archbishop Ambrosius.

In his book (Popoff, 1966), Eli Popoff traces the influences of many earlier Russian sects on Doukhoborism, some as early as the fifteenth century. He also mentions the "various attempts to trace a direct line from the early Christians to the various sects emerging in Europe during the Middle Ages, like the Doukhobors in Russia, but all pertinent facts were not authentically recorded to give absolute proof of this to a researcher." If such a continuity of beliefs and/or precepts is impossible to establish at this late date, a comparison of texts evokes some interesting parallels. Quite by coincidence someone lent me a book on the Sibylline oracles just at the time I was sorting through the Doukhobor texts. I should point out that most of the so-called Sibylline oracles which have survived were actually composed by Jewish and early Christian sects to attract the Graeco-Roman 'heathens' to their faiths. They were even composed in Greek hexameter verse in imitation of the ancient Greek originals, first mentioned by Heraclitus circa 500 B.C. The import of the Jewish and early Christian Sibylline oracles was often apocalyptic, warning of the dire consequences if the "true path" was not followed. It seems to have been a time of seething change and social upheaval, much like our own, when indeed "the end of days" was a threatening possibility. The following excerpt from a Sibylline oracle indicates how early Christian believers might be led

> ... thro' the flaming River, into a place of Light and into a Life without Cares, where the immortal Path of the great God is, and where three Fountains of Wine, Honey and Milk flow. And the Earth shall be equal to all, not divided by Walls or Partitions, but shall bear much fruit spontaneously: All shall live in common, and their Wealth shall be undivided; neither Poor nor Rich shall be there, nor Tyrant, nor Servant, nor one greater or less than the other: No King nor Leader, all shall enjoy all Things in common...
>
> (translation: Sir John Floyer, 1713).

The commune envisaged in this Sibylline oracle is not unlike some of the later Christian communes which were regarded as heresies from the viewpoint of the established Church. Even the imagery is reflected in several psalms and hymns sung by the Doukhobors in 1963. The following early hymn is a striking example (Peacock, 1970:54):

Had I realized, mortal man,
That my life span was short;
Had I realized, mortal man,
That my death was so terribly imminent;
I would have ascended, mortal man,
The mountain of Zion;
I would have gazed, mortal man,
Down along the river of flames
Where righteous souls are travelling,
They cannot find any firm footing.

You, Michael the Archangel,
You are our judge, so just.
Come over here to our side
And take us over safely
To the other side of the [flaming] river,
To the wonderful places,
Into God's most radiant Paradise.
(translation: Eli A. Popoff)

Similarity between present-day Doukhoborism and the belief systems of much earlier cultures and sects is in no way meant to imply continuity of social and spiritual evolution. Many other parallels exist in Doukhobor texts but, again, the arrow of time is discontinuous, the connections shattered by chance. Even so, the intuitive intellect is attracted by the many similarities which tend to override the vagaries of chance. If we can find no final proof (and it would take a battery of scholars even to make the attempt) we can at least entertain the possibility of such continuity from early Christian and perhaps even pre-Christian times.

If this first part of my exposition is suggestive of a continuity of belief and precept from a remote past, what are the chances that an evolving Doukhoborism will continue in the future? The key word here is "evolving". Throughout the one hundred years of their sojourn in Canada the Doukhobors have experienced and sometimes assimilated a host of new ideas and cultural concepts which would never have reached them had they remained in Russia. It almost seems to have been pre-ordained, if not actually prophesied. One is reminded here of the famous prophecies, some of them bordering on the apocalyptic, of the woman leader Lukeria Kalmykova in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The mood of the time is further reinforced by the New Israelite hymn "In Vain the Peoples Try to Think", still sung in 1963 in Canada (Peacock, 1970: 117). The apocalyptic message is revealed in the closing four verses:

To Him all is open and visible,
Whatever will happen and when;
He was sent by the Creator
To fulfill His Will here on earth,

To bring to humanity a movement
That would head in a proper direction;
But to those that oppose it unrest will occur
That will lead to a worldwide war.

People of all nations will be exterminated
Like the most insignificant of creatures;
Billions of them shall perish
Like locusts in the fields.

God's judgement shall then be enacted
Among the fallen on earth.
But truth and rejoicing shall come forth to reign
Among those who have remained faithful.
(translation: Eli A. Popoff)

The apocalyptic message in this hymn is more than enough to rival the fervor of many millenarianist prophets of our own time. In fact the message strongly suggests more than a passing acquaintance with the Book of Revelation of the New Testament. This attempt to accommodate the prophecies of 2,000 years ago within a contemporary context is stretching any theory of continuity to the breaking point. As for the "Billions [who] shall perish / Like locusts in the fields", we can only hope that the prophecy is vastly exaggerated. With enough spiritual communities to serve as models perhaps a global transformation will eventually come to pass, thus bringing about the planetary culture envisioned by many contemporary thinkers.

With their devotion to pacifism and long track record of survival under harsh circumstances, the Doukhobors are uniquely equipped to cope with many of the problems facing humanity at the beginning of the twenty-first century. A century of living in Canada has introduced them to many Western technologies (and temptations!) which could help them sort out the spiritual gold from the material dross and embark upon a renewed quest for spiritual transformation - this time within a larger context and with the knowledge that many other cultures also have traditions akin to "spirit-wrestling". True brotherhood knows no cultural boundaries and is literally beyond belief.

An exemplary life-style based upon a compassion for all life-forms and devoid of self-perpetuating traditional dogmas would serve as a healing process for all who come in contact with it. The path ahead may at times seem endless and fraught with insoluable problems, but the Doukhobors have always been ready to face new challenges and may yet enter the uncharted areas of untried cooperative potential.

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DOUKHOBOR PSALMS: ADORNMENT TO THE SOUL

by
Mark F. Mealing

Introduction

Almost forty years ago I sat in Assembly at Victoria High School and heard a Doukhobor choir sing a Doukhobor Psalm. For the choir, the occasion was both an exciting tour outside the Kootenays and a chance to do fencemending in the face of the general ignorance and bias of the Anglo-Canadian community of British Columbia of the 1950s. For most of my schoolmates, it was a welcome chance to spend an hour outside class responsibilities. For me, it was a great question: What are these people singing, and why? I was so indiscreet as not to forget that question, which thus far has led to more questions and a good part of a professional life as a folklorist. Along the way, it became evident that Doukhobors have had long experience at raising questions in other people's minds as well as in their own.

In Russia or Canada, Doukhobors have always lived in two societies: their own, and the external host society with which they have commonly dwelt in more or less tension. This tension pulls them in two directions. They need deeply to be secure, to know and have others recognize that they are right to be Doukhobors. They also need deeply to recollect that they are Doukhobors, a separate people: because others cannot perceive or admit things that Doukhobors know to be true, including the notion that God speaks within the human spirit. In fact, Doukhobors themselves question and disagree with each other concerning the nature of their truth, for reasons that we need not examine here. And today as always, Doukhobors and their neighbours question where the future will find them, or if they have a future at all.

Historically, Doukhobors questioned the right of material and institutional power to go unchallenged. They have suffered and have been broken in various ways for their meddling with the claims of that power as it roots itself in Western society. The objective terms imposed upon us by that power tend to obscure ancient names and perceptions of those forces within the human self, individual and corporate, that crave destructive power at any price. We have learned to separate and discount most of our experience, personal and cultural, that we cannot classify as material. Put in obsolete language, we have collectively begun to forget our souls, inside as well as outside the Doukhobor community.

But every society, every community, still has people and things concerned in various ways with that obsolete object, the soul. Many of these - and the healing professions are only one example - may be infected with the general sterile objectivity, a rationalism denying anything it can or will not comprehend. Artists, pushed to the dark borderlands of social meaning, struggle with the issue in other ways. Religious bodies, similarly divided, quarrel with each other like earnest mountaineers, each sure he or she has a clearer route to the summit than any one else. Doukhobors have experienced similar difficulties and ask comparable questions: Is a spiritual leader necessary? Is this or that leader authentic, and when? What is right action, right belief, for the Doukhobor? If God speaks within us, exactly what are we hearing?

I come to Doukhobor questions as an outsider, a stranger or perhaps a guest; and outsiders are usually in a difficult position. They are not members of the family, can't know its inner workings; and thus are not perceived as reliable judges. On the other hand, they at least have a different point of view, they may see things the family knows too well to see. So here I am: someone who is not a Doukhobor, but who has looked long and hard at Doukhobor psalms from the other side of the experience. And having looked, I can begin to say certain things that Doukhobors might not say. I can say, and have, that I find Doukhobor psalms to be beautiful, to be powerful intellectual and literary statements; to be, indeed, tools for certain kinds of healing. I now think it is necessary to say also that the psalms are treasures for the soul.

I here approach Doukhobor psalms in a subjective way deliberately, because I have approached them only objectively in other places. As a scholar, I am trained to discount or at least isolate my own feelings. But scholarship is a part of life, not the whole of it; and life integrates feelings with other aspects of the soul. Doukhobor psalms are addressed to those archaic objects, the soul and the spirit, which feel and know as well as believe. It is these unfashionable perspectives we must recognize, if we are to approach these texts as a whole, though we must not neglect the rational elements. I begin the process from familiar landmarks, having no other place from which to start. I must recognize that the speakers of the psalms do not begin from the same place, but they do begin from a place that is real not only to them. I must accept such a reality if I am to hear what is being spoken. When we learn to see the world, how can we deny another clear vision?

I must also admit at once to a problem Doukhobors take very seriously indeed, that of language. They have debated for at least forty years over this issue: Can one be a Doukhobor if one does not speak Russian? Can the psalms convey their true meanings if they are not heard or read in Russian? All the usual, understandable arguments aside, we may presume that the fullest experience of the psalms is best found through knowledge of the language in which they were composed and preserved. This being so, we should still be able to find something deeply present in such potent texts, even through the mask of translation. When the weaknesses of translation are exposed, so are its strengths. If all the outsider can claim is an outsider's experience, it may still have something of value to show. In dealing with these texts, I must also acknowledge with great gratitude the assistance of several people, both within and outside the Doukhobor community, who have guided my reworkings of others' translations and my own attempts to find English for these Russian texts, especially Mercedes Cheveldayoff, Jack McIntosh, Eli Popoff and the DSC/Saskatchewan translations of 1978.

We have found, so far, that Doukhobors raise in their own ways questions about power that are pertinent to the life of society; that they are not immune to strife any more than is the surrounding society; and that they possess a spiritual tradition in their psalms. Before going further, it is appropriate to wrestle a bit more with the idea of the spiritual, which I have characterized as ancient and obsolete. Of course I do not really think it is an obsolete idea, though I can regret the crusts of custom, authority and outworn opinion that conceal it. But we might come to the psalms as if we expect them to address more than aspects of history, of social custom and need, of literary pattern. We might expect them to address and give form to questions and ideas that are not rational yet are also not insane. We might expect them to offer patterns by which we might model the connection between our feelings and our actions. We might expect them to suggest an evident connection between ourselves and whatever that very large old word, God, means. We might even expect them to offer images and emotionally-rich language that would not so much describe as create a sense that we share indefinable aspects of ourselves with each other, even with the whole world and with God.

God is probably the most difficult word I've had the presumption to offer so far, certainly a word not safely invoked by scholars outside theological faculties, and we're going to have to come to some sort of terms with it. For the sake of clarity and concord, I am going to abandon most of the traditional labels. Let us, just for now, entertain the notion that there is something that is in many ways inaccessible to our consciousness, yet so real that it can break in even upon the limits of our logic. We should also remember that people in every time and place have not only claimed some kind of experience of such a something, but have then lived in ways that suggest that their experience was real and of tremendous effect. Even when the results of that experience have been ambiguous or disastrous, which has been the case distressingly often, such results appear to be more a consequence of inadequate vision or communication than of simple delusion. The something that is God is accessible enough to demand serious examination, and the Doukhobor psalms include that demand.

Texts

The speakers of the psalms knew and know that they do not speak to their everyday selves. Nor do they simply whistle into the dark: because out of this darkness come answers that are either luminous, or that raise pain, sorrow and bitterness into a crystal light. There are texts that resolutely challenge darkness within the Doukhobor community itself: the sad revulsion against blind minions of church and state, the soldiers and sinners who murder true Spirit Wrestlers. In the darkness they create comes a harsh reply: we shall stand in heaven and watch you suffer in hell. That message appears often enough, yet is sometimes turned about by a plea that runs deeper in the heart: 'Lord, do not turn Your face aside, even from the sinners....'

My beginner's ear leads me first and again to the psalm numbered 166 in Bonch-Bruevich's original collection (1909). No one told him its origin then and no one seems to remember now; it must owe much of its imagery and spirit to the Old Testament Psalm 107. It is dramatic in structure: three distinct voices are heard. A narrator sets the stage and records actions; young men, Doukhobor believers, cry out against oppression and trouble; and God replies. God's answers are never easy. When the young men, imprisoned and murdered, cry for aid, God instead drives them to travel beyond what they know and understand, to a mystical Jerusalem, to find a pillar joining earth and heaven. They complain that God's gates are sealed by stone, but God only tells them to wander beyond dark forests and stormy seas. When they complain that the seas are impassable, God only tells them to wait patiently. But when they say plainly that it is impossible for them to come to that unreachable Jerusalem, God gives the hardest answer: they are there already: they make the link between heaven and earth and do not yet recognize their own true nature, which is driven by a high desire, startling in its imperviousness to death and impossibility, for the wonders of the divine:[**]

Young men were born from holy clouds.
These young men cry out before the Lord:
        Lord, Lord! We have neither family nor kin,
        we have only spiritual brothers
        [and] sisters,
        our children count few years.
Forth they go
        these young men,
        about the world in glory,
        in greatness,
        in human beauty.
Human beauty -
        that is the pouring forth of blood
        upon the earth
        for the name of the Lord,
        for witnessing for Jesus Christ,
        for the word of God.
Antiochus the King shut up the youths in dark dungeons.
These young men wept bitter tears before the Lord:
Lord. Lord! Free us from dark dungeons:
        We desire to go on to your Jerusalem-town
        to look there upon the great fiery pillar,
        it shines from earth to heaven.
My young men! My Jerusalem-town is far away
        beyond lofty mountains,
        beyond shadowy forests,
        beyond gloomy seas.
My young men, open up my Lordly gates
        opposite the gates of Hell.
These young men wept bitter tears before the Lord:
Lord, Lord! Your gates are hard to open up:
        Your gates are blocked by living stone,
        they are buried by sand of the sea.
To open your gates [is] to pour our blood upon the earth.
My young men, you will go on through shadowy forests,
        you will go up into lofty mountains,
        you will come to the gloomy sea,
        you will embark in Noah's ship.
The wild winds were uproarious,
        the dark sea was stirred up.
The young men wept bitter tears before the Lord:

[**] Russian text is available for the Doukhobor psalms in my 1972 Ph.D. dissertation.

Lord, Lord! Why allow the wild winds to rage,
the waves of the sea to billow up,
the dark sea to heave?
It is impossible for us
to come to your Jerusalem-town,
there to look upon the great fiery pillar,
it shines from earth to heaven.
O young men, stay you a while by the sea,
wait a little for fair weather,
till the word of the Lord comes to you
to witness in every tongue,
to expose all the unrighteous.
My young men, you stand upon My pillar
and yet you do not see My pillar!

The individual Doukhobor is invited, in psalm 242, to approach the divine through simple images of the earth. Perhaps we forget that the virtue of the low grass is to be indeed humble, near the *humus* the earth. Water, grass, crystal: things that are simple, direct, exactly mundane participate in a reality that is not only not separate from the divine, but is intimate with it. Elsewhere in the psalms, divine riches are named: to live in the will of God is to enter an infinite treasury. This psalm, also of unknown origin, is presently taught to children: this would not be the case if it was not seen, consciously or otherwise, to carry a clear essence of Doukhobor thought. Darkness and trouble are anticipated in the balance presented between the gifts of life and death. In recognizing that balance lies the will of God, the infinite treasure of true understanding, a common place with those at the centre of Doukhobor life past and ongoing, always:

Calm me, Lord, quieter than the water;
Humble me, Lord, lower than the grass;
Strengthen me, Lord, stronger than a precious stone.
It is you, Lord, who gave me birth and
it is you, Lord, who strike me down,
You quench the flame within me.
Make me able, Lord, to understand all about everything,
to do Your will,
to abide with the saints,
with your own for ever.

A paradox then appears between these two texts: a Doukhobor, or even the whole Doukhobor community, may see, may contain the truth, hear the inner voice of God. That truth does not guarantee immediate freedom from suffering, from pain and confusion, from utter and devastating frustration, from death. It does guarantee that God will continue to speak, will utter outrageous challenges and even more outrageous affirmations, even the excellent absurdity that, in the midst of pain, confusion and death a Doukhobor, or even the whole Doukhobor community, can, however blindly, be at its goal. It is the blindness, not the truth, that causes the difficulties.

By this point, someone is going to say: "But this is all rank nonsense. Confusion, and pain and death, which even our ignorant bodies know is bad for us, are being presented as part of something so glorious that you can call it the will of God. What kind of God is that? Doukhobors objected and sometimes still object to order in society: is that good? Is the resulting suffering unexpected, or a virtue in itself? How can people train themselves and their innocent children to accept this highly unreasonable justification for sedition and misery? Do they dress it up in religious disguises to deceive themselves and us more thoroughly? Why, in the late 20th Century, should anyone take such superstitious claptrap seriously?"

These are, after all, honest questions asked more frequently that some might expect, I do note in passing that the values of the external society stand up no better when questioned from the same position. But these questions have flaws. It is clear from the texts themselves that confusion, pain and state-delivered death are not seen as good things, nor does the voice of God seem inclined to change the hearer's minds on this matter. The point is rather that a Doukhobor must find a further place from which to stand. If, as Doukhobors affirm, God is present to speak within each of us, Doukhobor or outsider, we and God must necessarily share together all these evident troubles and hoped-for triumphs. When Doukhobors call themselves Christians, they draw upon archetypal experience of joined suffering, service and divinity. Their place to stand is the pillar joining earth and heaven, the place where the separation between God and ourselves is nothing. The gates to heaven are indeed blocked by living stone: either stone itself, like grass and water, is an open gate: or there is no gate, no passage, no long journey, we are already there and have only to see.

The earliest Doukhobors declared their truth that God is present to speak within them, just as ancient pagan traditions survived because they shared a similar foundation. Doukhobors did not, however, pause with pagan tradition any more than they yielded to the chained Christianity of the institutional church. Instead, they rejected, as they still reject, rigid texts and doctrines of faith in bondage to personal interest and to lust for material, political power, though they too have now and again suffered similar collapses of their primal vision. But Doukhobors have also acted now and again to affirm that vision. Their political actions are a matter of historic record; and there were and are simple, domestic actions, the murmuring of a psalm while gardening perhaps, no less vital for the soul, no less potent an outpouring of the spirit.

The questioner will now, with full justification, say: "All very well and good, you sum up neatly a set of old, unfactual and unscientific beliefs that have helped our culture among others to construct systems of thought. These systems, in the fullness of time, steadily matured beyond their primitive and childish dreaming to refine themselves into the tools of logic, by which we have achieved our present high civilization - and we could not have done so without casting aside those childish dreams, ignorant superstitions and presumptuous mumbo-jumbo. There is not one shred of evidence for all this, which I have already accurately characterized as superstitious claptrap."

There are two kinds of evidence to offer in reply to this challenge, besides an invitation to look more closely at the superstitions of our present high civilization, which is presently giving clear signs of steady, logical and fatal nest-fouling. The first is historic: Doukhobors have survived to the present, even with however-many faults, and continue to provoke themselves and the rest of us with their own challenges to social dogma. If they claim that it is their principles that have brought them so far, who are we, who claim the guidance of our own principles, to question that survival? The second kind of evidence, though, is of more interest to me.

If human beings have souls and spirits, what kinds of evidence can we seek beside the survival of systems of thought? As a folklorist, I am obliged to suggest that certain kinds of creativity signify special processes and qualities in the self. It has been fashionable for some years in my profession to see the arts as a late embellishment of mundane material activity: after all, theorists reasonably argue, no one could sing for very long on an empty stomach: filling the stomach has to come first. This is all very well and certainly includes part of the truth, although it begins to fail when we consider those Doukhobors who sang psalms as they were being killed by the Tsar's cossacks. Why sing if you can be pretty certain you will never have a full stomach, or even a life, with which to sing again? I think it reasonable to suppose that the power to create a song is at least equal rather than subordinate to or consequent upon the power to fill a stomach.

The last piece of evidence is one more psalm 91 in Bonch-Bruevich's collection, a text of enduring popularity among Doukhobors. Of unknown origin, it is not entirely disconnected from Basil's *Homily on the First Psalm* (*Patrologiae Graecae, XXIX*). There are few psalms like this: it addresses psalmsinging self-referentially, like that entity that observes and judges the self, mine as yours, at arms-length, as if such observation and judgement were useful. In the process of doing this, it utters praise, piling up words and ideas even to the point of collapsing syntax -- as though logical structure itself were insufficient to the task of dealing with this potent and gorgeous process of psalmsinging:

> The singing of psalms - adornment to our souls. To call angels to our help [it] drives away darkness, creates holiness for strengthening the mind of man, wipes away sin; it is like the charity of the saints, it adds to faith, hope and love; like the sun it enlightens, like water it cleanses; though like fire it scorches, like chrism it soothes; it shames the devil but it reveals God, it quells the desires of the flesh; it is the chrism of charity, destiny rejoicing, it is the portion of the holy angels, it drives out rage, it hushes all kinds of anger, it shatters wrath; it is unceasing praise to God; it is like honey - the singing of psalms! it is the songs of the chosen in the presence of God; it drives away all sin, it reconciles the community in love, it resolves everything, it fulfills everything, it gives everything and it bears witness to everything told by the spirit; it cleanses the mouth and rejoices the heart; it builds the high pillar, it enlightens man, it opens out the senses, it destroys all evil; it shows to the perfect, that who has memory and love, also [has divine] awe; the praise of God cannot fade away, not anywhere; in the end it will make merry before God; for the world, it is the messenger [of] the serene mind; psalms pray for the future, respond for the present, repent for the past, and delight in good deeds; they recall the joy of the heavenly kingdom; singing many psalms in turn; just so, it thrusts back devilish power; it shows the brightness of the faithful; [it is] a comfort for the elders, but [it is] an adornment for the young, it is perfection of the mind from Christ, God himself; helping, giving power to the mouth, [as] the prophets established; they teach us carefully always to pray; in [the singing of psalms] there is praise and honour, greatness, goodwill, radiance, wisdom, thanksgiving, power and strength.

This psalm depicts the worshipping community as acting on many levels at once: God is honoured and praised, and the human soul is healed, restored, illuminated, made glorious. But in the very middle of this and not to be distinguished from it, something even greater occurs: the high pillar we met earlier in psalm 166 is built. The connection between all the worlds - human, natural, divine - is made. And it is made not only through suffering and patient faith, but also through a community who join their voices together in praise and enjoyment of something entirely outside themselves: something, if not tangible, then certainly audible in the united song rising from one person and another, voices, minds and hearts committed to harmony, to union, to praise of something beyond the self.

Conclusion

The sung psalm is itself evidence that there is more to be filled than stomachs. Psalms today serve a host of societal uses. The most conspicuous of these are the needs of corporate unity, served by a complex of community structures and events. Within these, psalms and their singing usually mark the power of those forces that gave rise to Doukhobor thought and preserved it against external and internal division. They thus exhibit the force, mystery and, alas, to some degree the inaccessibility of ancient symbols, an inaccessibility strengthened by the difficulty of the musical tradition. As persecuted sectarians, Doukhobors always understood defensive uses of mystery and still enjoy obscure symbolism. In the psalm cited first, King Antiochus takes his symbolic place as any unjust, blasphemous ruler who persecutes God's servants. The meaning is clear to an initiate; others must dig deeply or miss the point. Yet the point is not mysterious in itself; in fact, it is enlightening once it is learned. So contemporary Doukhobors who open themselves to the psalms can draw from them various benefits, according to the spirit in which they approach the texts.

Most Doukhobor children are at one time or another obliged to memorize one or more simpler texts, and youth choirs do a creditable job of learning to sing a few psalms. Indeed, most community choirs maintain a greater or smaller repertoire of psalms, and some sing them with enthusiasm and precision. Nevertheless, most singers' enthusiasm is reserved for more approachable or contemporary music. The situation in which psalmsinging comes into its own is in *molenya* - Sunday Morning Prayer.

For those who attend Sunday Morning Prayer - and they are not always many, though those who are present understand that they represent the intentions of those who are absent - psalmsinging is the vehicle for personal and community incorporation with the Divine. Since most Doukhobors are not theologians, their terms and explanations of their experience are plain and straightforward, but may cover some subtle ideas. I ask people how they experience psalmsinging and am told that psalms and psalmsinging "bring us close to God", "clear our hearts", "connect us to those who went before" (an elder reflects), "get us out of the rut to where we enter the light and bring it back with us" (another elder), "expand our consciousness" (a younger singer, choosing a cliché from the sixties to suggest something not so different from the foregoing explanation); and through them "we speak to God and God speaks to us", another elder declares.

It is worth noting that most of my informants commenting on the psalms found it most natural to say "we...". Another elder has said that the psalms could only be sung by a group; solo singing might occur, but only as a singer rehearsed his or her part in private: solo performance was, simply, unthinkable. I think we should see that, for Doukhobors, psalmsinging means unity. But that unity, while visibly experienced within the singing community, is declared to include the presence of God. Now my questioner can anticipate a field day! "Ah, God again! The Doukhobors listen to the voice of God within their hearts, and where does it get them? A small, often confused and oppressed, clearly imperfect group of people. Such a convincing triumph for God!"

Social scientists have a current fashion: they examine societies from a materialist imperative. One must exist in order to have culture, they accurately note; thus material subsistence is the foundation of human society and precedes all other aspects of culture, of which the expressive and aesthetic are the last and are most dependent upon all intervening structures. It is useful to recall that this statement is not a natural law; it is instead a useful and powerful tool for opening a cultural study. It has, however, two weaknesses that may trap the unwary. Firstly, it is linear: it models human society as a complex whose contingencies are more or less those of a stack of bricks: remove one lower down and everything above it crashes. Secondly, it is narrowly causal: subsistence makes organization possible, then profitable; organization makes control important, then desirable; control makes ideology and art necessary, then flamboyant. Such a model thus compels us to look for isolated origins. It also drives us to see subsistence as the essential origin point, incapable of development from possible prior sources...

I've suggested above that the psalms affirm unity in the Doukhobor community. I would go on to suggest that, joining trials and achievements with great life questions as they do, they create a model of wholeness for the community and its members. In the images and doctrine of the psalms, Doukhobor society knows how to be healthy and exemplary; it moves continually toward such completion; and, where it falters, recovery, *metanoia*, is possible if not inevitable. The psalms also respond to this wholeness with jubilant praise: something beyond the self, beyond themselves, is on their side.

If Doukhobors suffer all the misfortunes and faults some suggest, it is because they are, in the words of Aylmer Maude appropriated from the Old Testament, a " peculiar people": a community that consciouly established itself to challenge the axioms of the majority, a community that committed itself to unfamiliar virtues. The majority, pursuing its own ideology, promptly and continuously attempted, usually by violent coercion, to correct Doukhobors from their deviation from its norms. In the end, it need be no failure or shame that Doukhobors show the effects of the historical battering they have undergone - and have indeed sometimes administered to themselves. Societies are large and strong, and possess unimagineable momentum: it is something, to survive at all one's attempt to change their direction. It is something more, to be able to sing about that process.

If this small and historically battered community claims that its song joins it intimately to God - to what is more than the self, more than the community and the world, perhaps we are looking in the wrong place for the triumph. We are accustomed to idolize power, comfort and happiness; we shy away from pain and bewilderment, and so fail to see them as a womb from which further kinds of wisdom may be born. Experience in pain is unavoidably linked to experience in healing. The psalms couple pain, fear, anger and death itself with images of love, healing and renewal, or recovered wholeness. Vision, passion and integrity join in the texts, in ideas to which every singer or reciter has whatever access he or she chooses to employ.

So I choose to see these psalms, in deliberately subjective terms, as treasures for the soul: things whose force is to strengthen community, develop health, establish links with all that is, even beyond what may be imagined. Even an outsider can learn this much: that, in a few quiet places in the Doukhobor community, there is great joy, great peace and generous vision. The kind of life in which those virtues can live was nurtured for generations by the Doukhobor psalms. If that kind of life may grow, it will grow with the growing rediscovery of those psalms:

> You stand upon My pillar
> and yet you do not see My pillar!

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A View from Within:

ON DOUKHOBOR SINGING

by
Mae Popoff

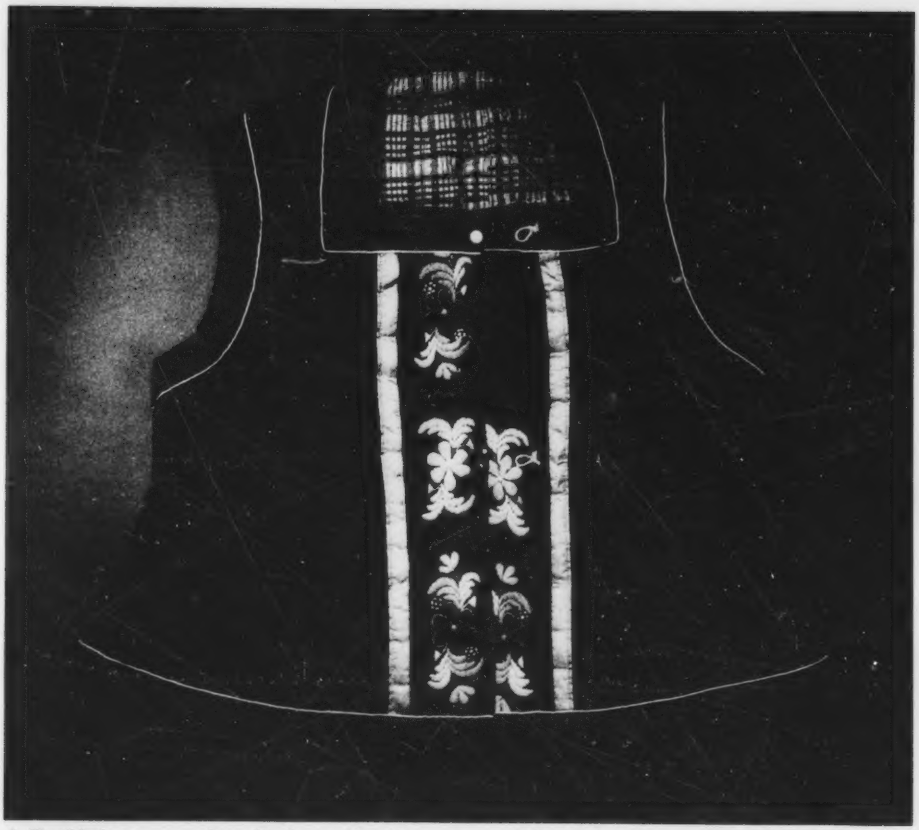
My grandfather George (Grisha) Chernoff was a participant at the Burning of Arms in 1895 in the Caucasus region of Russia. He endured the oppression and severe physical persecution by the state-controlled church and the Tsarist regime for observing the commandment, "Thou Shalt Not Kill". Deeply embedded scars along his back were evidence of the persecutions he endured. Doukhobor singing and his strength of spirit helped him survive and he came to the Canadian prairies in 1899 where he lived until the ripe old age of 92.

Singing has special meaning for me and my friends. At a recent Heritage Day program the Saskatoon Doukhobor choir appeared. The language was Russian. The hymn had been passed down from generation to generation. The group sang in unison without instrumental accompaniment. The choir members had printed words (but not musical notation). One voice started singing... Each member seemed to be aware of the timing, the expressions, the entrances... There is harmony... There is staggered breathing during the course of the hymn. Melisma (stretched-out singing) is common as the singers stress the syllables with an unusual prolongation. A choir conductor is visibly absent. Some of the female performers wear a *platok* (kerchief) that is similar to the costumes worn in the Caucasus. The choir sings praises of brotherhood, love, peace, and divine personal spirituality. The song, *Stavaite sily novye* [Rise Up New Forces], portrays a great deal of philosophy of the Spirit Wrestlers.

At another recent event, the Annual Folkfest Doukhobor Pavilion in Saskatoon, another Doukhobor choir in traditional dress sings hymns and folk songs a cappella. As ambassadors of peace, a Doukhobor choir in 1982 performed at the United Nations Third Session on Disarmament. The Lord's Prayer [*Otche nash*] was rendered by a Doukhobor choir at an opening of the British Columbia provincial legislative assembly. Every week there is a *sobranie* meeting during which a prayer service of traditional hymns, "learned by heart", are recited. Psalms and hymns are sung a cappella style. The entire *sobranie*/congregation participates in the prayer service with bread, salt, and water, - the symbols of hospitality, respect and universal brotherhood, - always present. The prayer service concludes with the hymn, "We've Concluded Our Assembly."

The annual *sobranie* every June commemorates the Burning of Arms, the dramatic denouncement of the compulsory militarism in Tsarist Russia, at the *peshcheri* [caves] site in Transcaucasia in 1895. Hymns such as *Spite orli boevie* [Sleep on Ye Brave and Triumphant Eagles] pay tribute to our ancestors who were persecuted for believing that toil and peaceful life ought to prevail and that the welfare of the world is not worth the life of a single child.

PART THREE: MATERIAL CULTURE



A Doukhobor woman's quilted vest like this one was called a "spirit warmer" (in Russian, *dushagraika*). (CCFCS 64-5.7)

DOUKHOBOR TEXTILE ARTS THROUGH THE CENTURY

by
Dorothy Burnham

When the Doukhobor's came to Canada at the end of the 19th century they brought with them whatever clothing they possessed. They started life on this side of the Atlantic looking very much as they had in the Caucasus. Photographs taken before departure, during the voyage and after arrival,[1] provide quite a clear picture of the appearance of the Doukhobors during that period. On arrival in Halifax in mid-winter, men are shown wearing round Cossack-style fur hats and sheep skin coats, comfortable and practical clothing that must have been worn out during the first years of settlement. Pictures taken before departure from the Caucasus and shortly after arrival on the Canadian prairies show men's formal attire as being dark trousers and knee-length coats, worn with a striped woollen sash. The coats are gone but the Russian sashes are now treasured possessions in many families. During the early years of settlement men continued to use whatever clothing they owned, and from this period only a few accessories, sashes, caps and embroidered waistcoats have survived.

Women in the old Russian pictures are shown wearing their best clothes. A style change, after arrival in Canada to simpler clothing, allowed the survival of quite a few of the garments that combine to make these charming outfits: fine, white cotton dresses trimmed with lace and decorative weaving, fancy aprons and padded jackets with floral embroidery. The women wear small caps, usually almost covered by a kerchief. No old examples of the caps seem to have survived, but those made more recently, with their padded and somewhat conical shape are probably quite close to the originals. Although caps are now only used for festivals, Doukhobor women still cover their heads with an embroidered kerchief.

Most of the old photographs, were quite carefully posed and they show people wearing their best Russian clothes, many of which were probably made by professional village tailors, using commercial materials. This gives a somewhat unreal record, for in the Caucasus the Doukhobors raised sheep and cultivated flax and knew well how to process and use the fibres obtained from these sources. Undoubtedly many simple homemade textiles were in their baggage but, more importantly they also brought with them the textile skills necessary for the making of new garments, household linens and bedding.

After arrival on the prairies, as land was cleared, small plots were set aside for raising flax, a plant that served a dual purpose, the seeds providing oil for cooking and the stems, fibres for linen. The processing of flax is labour intensive but, in spite of the fact that able-bodied men had to leave home to earn very necessary money, in the communities there were older men, women and children, who could do what was necessary to turn the rough stems of the flax plants into soft fibres ready for spinning. The processes were much the same as those used by other groups: pulling the plants to obtain the maximum length of fibre, alternately drying and wetting, then breaking, combing and cleaning, but there was one step that was uniquely Doukhobor.[2] In addition to the use of a flax brake, the stalks were put into a large hollowed out log and were beaten with special hammers. It is fortunate that this operation was photographed during the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebrations at Verigin in 1949. By that time flax was no longer cultivated, but there were women who remembered the techniques necessary for making a fine linen yarn.

Hemp was grown and processed in much the same way as flax. The fibre is coarse and its main uses were for carpet warp and for weaving strong durable farm sacks. Hemp is the source of marijuana and its cultivation has been illegal in Canada for many years but, among old people, memory still lingers of the sweetness of the fried hemp seeds that they were given as a treat when they were children.

The processing and use of sheep's wool has held its importance during the whole hundred year history of the Doukhobors in Canada. During the first years in Saskatchewan they raised their own sheep. As time went on, this practice was discontinued and a barter arrangement was worked out with neighbouring farmers. During the spring a group of Doukhobors went from farm to farm shearing sheep, and payment for this service was a share of the fleeces. Women did the actual shearing, and with the Doukhobors communal way of life it was possible for young mothers to go on these expeditions, for they could safely leave their children to the loving care of older people.

Doukhobor women processed their fleeces in traditional ways, shaking, sorting, washing, rinsing and drying but, unlike others, they did not card the fibres to make them soft and fluffy, but used the more ancient technique of combing. This has the effect of laying the fibres somewhat parallel, allowing a hard, fine yarn to be spun. Two different types of combs were used, but the more common, in Canada, were small semicircular paddles set with sharp metal teeth. These were used in pairs with the wool fibres being transferred from one comb to the other as the processing was done. Eventually the combs were set up as a sort of distaff and the wool fibres were drawn right off them as spinning was done.[3]

The next step was making the yarn. Some spinning wheels were brought from Russia, and others were among the useful gifts received during the early period of settlement. Just as the girls were well trained in textile making, the boys were taught the art of woodworking, and among the men there were a number of skilled wheel makers. Before long, spinning wheels were being made in the Doukhobor communities and, judging from survival, the upright form, usually painted red, was by far the most popular type. In spite of the Doukhobor's communal life, a spinning wheel was a private possession, often given to a woman as a wedding gift by her husband or possibly her father-in-law.[4]

From the start of settlement on the prairies the harsh winter climate necessitated extensive use of available wool for the knitting of warm garments. Almost all of these simple old things have perished, but knowledge remains of a special way the Doukhobor women had of making a wool pile on the inside of their knitting. Mitts and socks knitted in this way were much used by men when doing heavy outdoor work in wintertime.[5]

Another rather unique textile production was the making of footwear. Some Doukhobors were so strictly vegetarian that they would not use leather even for shoes. Before plastics were available they made their shoes at home using a crochet technique. Some shoes are quite coarse but others, dating from about 1920, are made of fine cotton or wool yarns worked so closely and tightly that it is hard to see how the stitches were done. They are amazing productions. One pair is even made in the shape of a tie oxford shoe, with front flaps that lace up over an inner tongue. The ban on leather was completed by cutting the soles from cloth-backed rubber belting from farm machinery.[6]

Handspun linen yarns were extensively used for openwork knitting and crochet to decorate such things as towels and tablecloths; and the hard, fine woollen yarns were used in a similar way for fancy edgings on handwoven gaments and bedding. Decorative knitting was a truly creative art among the Doukhobor women.

While spinning wheels were individually owned, looms were community property shared by the women of one group. The standard household loom was horizontal with a heavy frame and a weaving width of up to about 90cm. It had an overhead beater and four shafts which made it suitable for the weaving of twills and a few simple linen weaves, as well as plain tabby. Any man, with carpentry skills could construct the frame, but all the working parts were also locally and most skilfully made.

Exceedingly durable string, of either wool or linen, was spun for making the heddles which were netted in a very special way; the pulleys, from which the shafts hung, and the shuttles to hold the weft, were of specially selected wood, beautifully hand carved; and even the reeds, for spacing the warp, were made of hand split slats tied in place with handspun yarn.[7]

With the knowledge of how to raise and process textile fibres and their spinning, weaving, knitting and sewing skills the Doukhobor women were well equipped for the self sufficient way of life that faced them in Canada. As the old garments wore out, styles changed from the fancy things that had been brought from Russia to what was possible to produce within the communities. Fine cotton dresses and embroidered aprons and vests were replaced by blouses and full straight skirts made from locally produced linen or wool. Yardage for these garments was frequently woven in a fine herringbone twill and, if made of wool, was dyed a bright colour. Doukhobor women were skilled in obtaining strong, remarkably fast colours from package dyes.

Linen shirts and trousers were made for the men's dress wear and with the aid of newly acquired sewing machines the women tailored their home dyed, handwoven woollen materials into coats and trousers to make business suits similar to those that were being worn in prairie towns during the first part of this century. A number of these black wool suits have survived. They are not beautiful but the quality of the spinning, weaving, dyeing and sewing used in creating them is truly impressive.

Children in the old pictures are often dressed in garments that reflect those of their parents. About 1915 Peter V. Verigin decreed that all community children, up to the age of twelve, should wear only a single light garment in summer. The boys' version was like an extra-long shirt and the girls' a simple straight dress made of cotton or handspun linen. With these the children wore no underclothes and went barefoot and bareheaded. Undoubtedly the need for economy and the desire for uniformity were back of this decree, but those who wore the garments remember the wonderful feeling of freedom they had when summer arrived.

Early clothing, though made with care and ingenuity was very plain, and only on the headkerchiefs were the Doukhobor women able to show their very considerable embroidery skills. The ground fabric was usually white. It might be of handspun linen but more often a fine bought material was used: a very light weight wool, sheer cotton or linen and as time went on, a definite preference for silk developed. Many surviving early kerchiefs are decorated with meticulous drawn thread work,[8] but the most popular style has scattered floral sprays worked in silk satin stitch. Kerchiefs of this kind are still worn, though now made of synthetic materials.

If clothing gave little outlet for artistic creation, this was not the case with the textiles needed to furnish a Doukhobor house: bed coverings, sheets, rugs, tablecloths and many towels survive and all show the womens' skill in designing and producing decorative weaving and embroidery. Early table cloths are rare but, those that exist, are of fine handspun linen, expertly woven in simple openwork weaves and the narrow widths of the handweaving are often joined by complex embroidery stitches. Handwoven sheets were also made and special trousseau ones were edged with wide bends of fine knitted lace. Utilitarian towels have perished, but there are many decorative ones trimmed with bands of openwork knitting or crochet, embroidery of various kinds and re-used ribbons and other trimmings taken from the clothing that was brought from the Caucasus. These towels were often hung over a nail to provide a little colour on the plain walls of the community houses. At all periods many beautiful small household linens were made for home use and to sell for the cash that was always in short supply.[9]

In early Doukhobor houses in Canada, beds were simply plain wooden shelves about a metre wide. The foundation of each bed was a woven rug, which stayed on the shelf during the day to provide a warm place to sit. At night the bed was made on top of this rug, using a mattress pad, a sheet, quilts and pillows. In the daytime the bedding was piled at one end of the bed under a special type of cover, made from handwoven wool clothing material. These covers were dyed red or purple, some were decorated with wool embroidery and all had bands of openwork knitting or crochet along the side that would face the room.[10]

Three different types of rugs were made for use on the beds.[11] The most common everyday ones were woven on a horizontal loom in two comparatively narrow widths joined by a seam. Some had a handspun warp (the longitudinal threads on the loom), but often commercial cotton was used. These warp threads were spaced quite widely so that the weft (the cross threads on the loom), which were either heavy wool or strips of rag cut from old materials, could be packed down to make a weft-faced fabric. Although quite quick to produce, these rugs usually have carefully worked out cross bands of colour and much weaving skill is shown in the accurate meeting of these bands at the centre seam. Similar lengths are still woven for floor coverings but, in earlier days, the use of rugs was for beds only.

A second, and considerably rarer, type of rug was made using a tapestry weave. With this technique, the warp threads were covered by heavier wool weft threads, which did not run from selvage to selvage, but were carried backwards and forwards in single colour areas to form a pattern. The weft threads in adjacent areas did not link and short vertical slits resulted between the pattern sections. The motifs were geometric, similar but considerably coarser than those in oriental rugs and the spacing was quite open. Survival of these rugs is not plentiful but they were apparently made from shortly after the time of settlement until the 1940s.

Twill rugs and most of the tapestry-woven ones were made on the horizontal community looms, in two widths that were seamed together. There were also special looms for the weaving of wide single piece rugs. Occasionally, tapestry rugs were woven on these looms, but the main use was for the making of heavy pile rugs similar to oriental carpets. Doukhobor weavers were unique in Canada in their use of this traditional technique, which would have been familiar to them when they lived in the Caucasus. This form of pile weaving is extravagant of yarn, and it was not until some years after settlement that wool supplies became sufficient for the making of these luxurious rugs. The earliest dated example known is 1912 and the latest ones were probably woven about 1930. As with the tapestry rugs they were made in preparation for marriage.

Technically Doukhobor pile rugs, and the looms on which they were woven, were similar to Turkish ones. The loom was simply an upright frame. A strong warp was stretched on it and a simple device of sticks and strings was added to make it possible to separate the warp threads to form an opening (the shed) through which the ground weft could be passed. Two shots of weft were put in, then heavy wool was twisted around a pair of warp threads, the wool was cut short, a similar twist was made around the next pair of warp threads and so on across the width of the warp. Two more shots of ground weft were put in to hold this row of "knots" firmly in place and in this way a soft deep pile was formed on the surface of the rug.

As with the tapestry rugs, at first the patterns were based on Turkish motifs, but there was a transition to more realism and by the 1920s the most popular designs included flowers of all shapes and colours, potted plants, butterflies, anything that the maker desired that could be drawn on squared paper. Although many of the motifs are obviously based on the crochet and cross-stitch patterns that were published in the farm papers of the period, the skill of the designers and their wonderful use of vivid colours create a unique and exciting textile art.

Almost all of these pile rugs were of a size and shape suitable for use on the early shelf beds. One exception is a magnificent rug, approximately two and a half metres square, which was made for the leader Peter the

Lordly Verigin, and was used on his bedroom floor.[12] This rug is now in the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, placed there at the request of Anastasia Golubova [Holoboff], Peter's constant companion. Some believe that the rug was woven by Anastasia herself. She certainly organized the undertaking and did some of the processing and dyeing of the wool, but the weaving of such an enormous piece would not likely be the work of one person. Young women, drawn from the community, were in all probability the weavers and one of them may also have been the imaginative designer of the extraordinary, but beautifully drawn and spaced gathering of flowers, birds and animals which almost vibrate against the intense blue of the ground.[13]

During the first half of the Doukhobor's century in Canada, textile making had two purposes. Warm clothing and bedding was an absolute necessity for survival and the only way of supplying it, was to make it. Perhaps even more importantly, the creating of beautiful textiles was the women's way of bringing joy and colour into a hard pioneer life. The quality of surviving embroideries, linens, rugs and other colourful creations made during the years after arrival in Canada is truly impressive. Life has changed, the necessity has gone, beds are no longer hard boards requiring a soft rug, bedding is no longer piled under a special cover, men no longer wear handwoven linen suits, and bought materials are readily available and usually affordable. One traditional textile article of costume remains, the woman's head kerchief. These are still made by Doukhobor embroideresses and their work shows clearly that the old skills have been passed on and that quality of craftsmanship has not been lost

Reference Notes

1. The Koozma Tarasoff Collection of early photographs is a large and important resource in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B.C. It was gathered by Tarasoff while doing research for his publications and he has generously placed the collection where it is readily available to others. A number of these photographs are used as illustrations in Tarasoff's *A Pictorial History of the Doukhobors* and in *Plakun Trava: The Doukhobors*. For Burnham's *Unlike the Lilies: Doukhobor Textile Traditions in Canada* photographs have been drawn from the Tarasoff Collection in Victoria, the Saskatchewan Archives in both Saskatoon and Regina, the Alberta Provincial Archives and the Museum of Alberta in Edmonton.

2. See Burnham *Unlike the Lilies: Doukhobor Textile Traditions in Canada*, pp. 10-13. Information given in this note and also in following notes concerning the various aspects of the making of textiles by the Doukhobors in Canada, is based on information

obtained during work in various Doukhobor settlements in Saskatchewan and British Columbia during 1983 and 1984.

3. Ibid. pp. 5-10 for description and pictures of tools and the processing of wool.

4. Ibid. pp. 15-18 for description and pictures of spinning wheels.

5. Ibid. pp. 35-36 for description and diagram showing pile knitting.

6. Ibid. p. 37 for photographs of string shoes.

7. Ibid. pp. 19-28 for description, pictures and diagrams of looms and loom parts.

8. Ibid. pp. 67-68 for description, pictures and diagram of drawn thread work.

9. Ibid. pp. 71-78 for description, pictures and diagrams of the making of household linens.

10. Ibid. pp. 81-82 for description and pictures of bedding covers.

11. Ibid. pp. 83-94 for description and pictures of banded, tapestry and pile rugs.

12. Ibid. p. 95 for photograph of rug in place on the floor.

13. Personal communication from Mrs. Elsie Konkin Morris has given the information that the rug was woven at the prayer home in Ooteshenie. Anastasia obtained the wool from her father Fedya Holoboff, who raised sheep in Saskatchewan. She spun some of the wool herself and she dyed it, but the weaving was done by Mary and Anna Evdokimoff, assisted by their cousins Looshka and Feshka Evdokimoff. Mary was the head weaver and designed the rug working in the motifs that Anastasia wanted. Mrs. Morris obtained this information from her mother Elizabeth Konkin, who lived nearby at the time of the weaving.

Doukhobors esteem their elders among whom the menfolk often sport traditional sashes such as this one. (CCFCS 79-489)

A HISTORY OF DOUKHOBOR DRESS[***]

by
Svetlana A. Inikova

Probably all of Canada's Doukhobors have seen in museums or in their grandmothers' trunks old Doukhobor attire, while the older generation perhaps still remember those times when such a clothing was worn. Only a few, however, know where these styles come from and how they came to be. The clothing of every people reflects to some degree its history, ideology and aesthetic ideas. Popular dress, besides its primary purpose - to protect against the action of unfavourable climatic conditions - always contains information about the ethnic membership of its wearer. Russian dress differs outwardly from German or North American Indian dress; but it also can reflect gender, marital status, social position, and sometimes a person's professed religion. Doukhobor dress is interesting to the researcher for its significant philosophical meanings. It reflects the social and religious ideas of the Doukhobors and the difficult journey of their search for truth....

Doukhobor dress came into existence in the Molochnye Vody area of Russia (northern Crimean region) and decisively took shape in the 1860s in the Caucasus. This time period was very short, especially when one considers the total influence on the group by Russians from different provinces, Ukrainians, Mordvinians, and cossacks. Undoubtedly, Doukhobors had clothing styles that prescribed uniformity in dress. Only two more or less detailed descriptions of Doukhobor dress have been preserved, and we will discuss them in their entirety.

In 1841, an unknown author of "Notes about the Doukhobors", having lived with them in the Molochnye Vody river area, wrote:

> Many men imitated the clothing of the colonists, while others wore their former Russian clothing. Women generally remained in their former Russian dress, which was the same for married women and girls, except for the headgear. Their dress consists of a blouse with wide sleeves, a padded jacket and a skirt with an apron. They do not braid their hair, but having let it down and a bit forward, they tuck it under their headgear. The latter consists of a *kichka* of a semi-oval shape compressed upwards, made, for the most part, from cotton material, quilted with cotton wadding. On the front portion of the headgear there is some kind of decorated bow with two ribbons, with

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[***] Translated from Russian.

> which it is tied on the head. Women and girls from wealthy homes sometimes wear silk head scarves with golden flowers, tied on a high German cap, the two ends of which are tied in a knot at the front, while the third is left hanging down the back. The dress of both men and women is extremely plain.

Twenty-five years later, having visited the Doukhobors who were by this time living in the Caucasus, the artist Vasily Vasilevich Vereshchagin wrote:

> Where have the Doukhobors taken their attire from? I speak of the men. When I asked them about this, they answered that it was "authentic Russian attire"; but the fact is that in real Russia such dress is not to be found. The long wide trousers *sharovary* - well maybe; but where does the shortish, soldier-style *arkhaluk* with its stand-up collar, fastening on the inside with hooks -- a typical Don Cossack attire - come from? Everyone without exception wears this *arkhaluk*. Women are dressed in ordinary Russian clothing. Their hair is covered with a scarf or piece of material, folded to resemble a sugar loaf, but with the ends hanging back (Vereschagin, 1887).

Vasily Vasilesvich Vereshchagin left us pencil sketches of portraits of Doukhobor men and women.

At different times, their contemporaries have noted a resemblance of Doukhobor dress to that of the Quakers, Germans and cossacks. Indeed, Doukhobor dress represents a union of many elements, borrowed from different peoples, although it contains much that is original. But, the borrowings are not random. The men's outer garment, sewn from black or dark blue cloth, and called by various names (*beshmet, kharkaluk, chekmen, cherkeska, kurtika, bekesha*), was definitely borrowed from the Don Cossacks. Also from them came "trousers with gusset," with red stripes along the side seams. Similar to cossack dress was the peaked cap with high cap-band. And like the Don Cossacks, the Doukhobors shaved their beards, but left their moustaches.

Among the cossacks one could find many Doukhobors who served out their sentences in the service of cossack soldiers at the Azov fortress in the Caucasus. This influence of the cossack element was especially intensified in the first years (1841+) of the Doukhobors settling in the Caucasus. At that time, they were joined by others who had been sent earlier to Transcaucasia for the Doukhobor heresy.

The Doukhobors, striving to create their own small state within the Russian state, imitated cossack self-government. The political life of *Doukhoboria* was determined by the men, who took part in assemblies and conferences. The manager of *Sirotskii dom* (literally Orphan's Home, an administrative centre) bore the title of *ataman* (the title of the cossack leader) while the personal bodyguards of the leader of the sect were called *kozachki* (diminutive affectionate term for cossacks).

The Doukhobors who were cossacks by origin, upon entering the community, brought with them not only their dress, structure of everyday life, traditions of self-government and spirit of liberty, but also their moral values and folkways. The cossacks, who received certain privileges and were proud of their heroic history, had somewhat of a feeling of superiority over the peasant. The word "cossack" itself was understood in Russia as a symbol of martial valour and courage. For the Doukhobors, it meant valour in the struggle for the work of God. In one of the Doukhobor psalms, to the question: "What are you, a peasant or a cossack?" follows the response: "Cossack." Question: "Why are you a cossack?" Answer: "I dare to speak the word of God, to bind Satan."

No borrowings from Quaker attire can be found, but living side by side in the Molochnye Vody area with German colonists apparently did not proceed without consequence; their dickies, neck scarves, and waistcoats appeared in Doukhobor men's dress.

Today it is very difficult to find a complete men's outfit, even in the ancient chests of Caucasusian Doukhobors. Under pressure from city fashion, the trousers with gusset disappeared long ago. Men's dress has been preserved more completely among the old men of Gorelovka village. Generally, on occasions when it is necessary (funerals, wakes), a man puts on a Doukhobor waistcoat, and this turns out to be sufficient for the observance of proper decorum.

The unknown author of the 1841 "Notes" and Vasily Vereshchagin, cited above, found Doukhobor women's dress to be ordinary Russian dress, except for the headgear. In the Caucasus a Doukhobor woman wore a white blouse, over which she put on a *zapan* similar to a woman's jacket, but fastened at the back, a skirt and an apron, and, when going out in public, a corset. Women of southern Russian provinces wore such dress. The bottom of the skirts, aprons, corsets, and even leather and velveteen (velvet) shoes were decorated with bright wool embroidery, and lace and gold braid were sewn onto clothing. In the second half of the nineteenth century women's dress could barely be called "plain." With the availability of chemical dyes the colours of homespun cloth in women's clothing became very bright, pure, and joyful. Women of all ages, both young and old, wore the same type of dress which is very unusual for national dress. Even now the older generation wears such bright outfits to prayer, on holidays, to funerals and wakes. Everyday clothing is in more restrained colours and is more modestly decorated. Nowadays, although they own Doukhobor outfits, young woman rarely put them on.

Earlier, right up until the 1930s and '40s, the *khvartik* (apron) was quite widespread among Doukhobor women. It was worn both for everyday and to prayers. Later on it began to be worn only to prayers and women were also buried in the *khvartik*. In the past few years it has almost completely disappeared and it is difficult to find a woman who has made herself a *khvartik* for burial purposes. Probably Lukeria Vasilevna Kalmykova went to prayer meetings in Sirotskoe wearing one. Some contemporary observers took it for a Russian *sarafan* (a sleeveless tunic dress) which Doukhobor women did not wear. At the front, the *khvartik* is certainly like a *sarafan* : a wide and long panel of fabric, gathered above the bosom line on a detachable yoke, while the back piece was short and pleated, just covering the waist. The front and back pieces were sewn together at the right side, and fastened at the left side: they were tightly fastened with straps - braces.

Contemporaries have noted the unusual hairstyle and headgear of the Doukhobor women. In both by the Molochnye Vody area and in the Caucasus they wore knitted white caps. On top of such a cap, a scarf, folded diagonally, was tied, two corners of which at first went back, and then tied in a knot above the forehead, while the third was set back. The author of the "Notes" about the Doukhobors considered this a borrowing from the Germans, but such caps were worn by cossack women on the lower reaches of the Don and in several regions of the southern Russian provinces including Voronezh and Orlov.

A more original Doukhobor headgear was the woman's hat or *kabardinka* as it began to be called in the Caucasus. Its description in the 1841 "Notes" is not sufficiently detailed to reconstruct it, but nevertheless, it is evident that it appeared somewhat differently in the Caucasus at the end of the 19th century. Ribbons, with which the hat was tied behind the head of the Doukhobor women of the Molochnye Vody area, gradually lost their function and were transformed into decoration on the sides of the hat, and the bow in front was transformed into a huge flower from pieces of multicolored silk with predominantly pink tones, called a *puchok* (bunch). Along the bottom of the hat ran a strip of black velveteen; above it, in the front, was sewn a strip of gold braid. The hats were sewn from silk of blue, green, and lilac colours on woollen quilting.

The Doukhobor woman's hat is interesting for its symbolism. There are several variants of its explanation. According to one of them, velveteen is the land, the braid is the Doukhobor path, the ribbons are rivers, and above the ribbons is heaven, to which one must strive. The bunch symbolized the blossoming flowers on the ground. There is another, apparently modern interpretation: the two halves of the hat are two hemispheres, while the bunch is the symbol of the representatives of different nations entering the Doukhobor sect. But the most widespread explanation of the meaning of the hat is the following:

> (1) the velveteen is for when the Doukhobors worked at convict labour underground; (2) the braid is for when Doukhobor glory began to shine, when Doukhobors began to appear in various places; (3) the bunch symbolizes the period when the Doukhobor teaching blossomed and people began to live well; (4) the ribbons represent the road to the Caucasus; and (5) the top of the hat means that there is nothing higher than God's law.

The hat undoubtedly took on symbolic meaning in the Molochnye Vody area. Such an attempt to show one's past in symbolic form in one's dress is unique. General suffering for faith and common history have united the Doukhobors, while the wearing of the hat has come to be somehow associated with the memory of the sufferers.

It is not accidental that the history of the Doukhobors is reflected in such a compressed form in women's headgear. Doukhobor teachings were supposed to be passed on from generation to generation in oral form only, as any written record, in the opinion of the founder of the group, distorted the inspired word of God. The Doukhobor psalms were learned by heart by children at an early age, as soon as they learned to speak. The principal role in the preservation of oral traditions, in their transfer from generation to generation, in the religious upbringing of children, belonged to the mother and grandmother: that is, women were the custodians of the Doukhobor teachings and the Doukhobor covenant.

Originally the hat was not obligatorily covered with a scarf. The leader of the Caucasus Doukhobors Lukeria V. Kalmykova went to prayer meetings wearing a hat only. In photographs from the end of the nineteenth century, Doukhobor women are often shown without scarves. At the present time the women of the Doukhobor village of Gorelovka obligatorily wear a scarf folded at an angle atop their hats.

The traditional headgear of Russian and Ukrainian girls did not cover their hair completely, usually leaving the crown exposed. One braid was allowed to show. A married woman carefully concealed her hair under her headgear. On her wedding day the single braid was replaced with two, which under no circumstances were allowed to show. One striking peculiarity of the Doukhobor women's dress was the absence of differences in the headgear and hairstyle of women and girls. This is explained by the religious outlook of the Doukhobors, who connected the idea of virginity not with the physiology or marital status of the woman, but with her relationship to the church. A church wedding meant the loss of purity and chastity. In the Doukhobor psalm, to the question: "Why are you a virgin?", the answer was given: "I am a virgin because I endure the path and work for God... I am a virgin because I remember to work for God." Moreover, if the divine beginning exists in every Doukhobor, then every woman giving birth to a human being (Doukhobor), like Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, is both a Mother of God and a virgin.

Doukhobor women developed a special hairstyle, which to this day is worn by the elderly women of the village of Gorelovka. Parting her hair in the middle and putting the hat tightly on her head, a woman would twist her side locks from her forehead to her ears, making small "little curls." At the back these resulting knots and the rest of the hair were braided and put away under the hat. In the front small bangs were let down. Russian, Ukrainian , and Mordvinian women never wore such a hairstyle. However, this style resembles very closely the head dress worn by German Hutterian women. The Hutterites lived in Russia in the Chernigorskoi Gubernia from the 1770s. In 1842 they moved to Tavrida in the Milky Waters area. Was this a coincidence in the similarity of the hairstyles or did the Doukhobor women borrow this style from their neighbours, the Hutterites? This is a question that still requires extensive study.

In a psalm to the question: "Why did you trim your hair?" is given the reply: "I trim my hair because I have gotten rid of evil words." Present-day Doukhobors believe that this means to get rid of bad thoughts and intentions. One A. Kamenev, visiting *Doukhoboria* while Lukeria Vasilevna Kalmykova was still alive, wrote later that, according to the stories of old men, all the marriageable young girls cut off a lock of hair above the forehead after the young leader of the Doukhobors, Peter L. Kalmykov, chose Lukerya Vasilevna as his bride. By this they wished to display their distress to the fullest degree. It is difficult to judge whether this actually took place, and how accurately Kamenev retold the stories of the old men. This could have been a ceremony, symbolizing a girl's reaching marriageable age. Judging by photographs from the end of the nineteenth century, bangs were worn by everybody, even little girls. Both women and girls hid their braids under hats. It was considered extremely indecent for a Doukhobor woman to appear with no headgear.

Traditional Doukhobor attire, both men's and women's, the same for all members of the sect, being distinguished by unusual elements, bright colours, and an abundance of embroidery, looked like the national dress of some unknown nationality. These features united the Doukhobors, underscored the equality of all members of the sect, and at the same time outwardly separated them from the Orthodox population and their neighbours.

Isolation in the steppes of Tavrida (the Milky water settlement of Melitopol Uezd) then in the mountains of the Caucasus and the realization of their calling, - these factors were conducive to the conservatism of their attire. The schism of the Doukhobors after the death of Lukeria V. Kalmykova in 1886 and the subsequent religious and socio-economic searchings of the Veriginites followed, shook several customary values and ideas. Always having considered themselves a chosen people, the Doukhobors, at the insistent recommendation of Peter V. Verigin, in 1896, gave them a new name: "The Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood," in order to emphasize, as Peter Vasilevich wrote to his fellow believers from exile, "that we look at all people as brothers according to the covenant of the Lord Jesus Christ."

This new turn in the religious worldview inevitably affected the dress style of the Veriginites. If for the "small party", in their struggle against the new searchings of the Veriginites, dress became one of the buttresses of the old faith, for the supporters of Verigin it gradually lost its original role: that is, to separate the Doukhobors from the remainder of the population. True, this was manifested to a great degree among those Doukhobors who left for Canada. The process of loss of Doukhobor dress among the Veriginites remaining in the Caucasus was significantly slower than in Canada. For example, in Canada Doukhobor women stopped wearing their hats soon after the arrival there from exile in 1902 of Peter V. Verigin. In the Caucasus, Doukhobor women of the large Veriginite party stopped wearing hats approximately in the years 1918-1920. This took place under somewhat strange conditions.

In Gorelovka and in other villages, I heard more than once about the shooting of hats at the Rodionovka boundary (near the village of Rodionovka), but no one could plainly say what took place and how. During my trip to the Rostov-on-the-Don region one of the oldest

Doukhobors told me this story, the principal character of which was his aunt. During a visit by Peter Petrovich Verigin to the village of Rodionovka, his bodyguard began to demonstrate his marksmanship. One of the women, frightened, lost her hat. Gathering up her hair, she put the hat on a stone of the fence. The next report of the gun knocked the hat off. Trying to prevent a scene, Peter P. Verigin gave the woman money and ordered her to buy a new scarf and not to wear a hat any longer. The word of the leader was taken as an order, and all the Doukhobor women of the "large party" took off their hats, exchanging them for scarves, under which they began to wear a bonnet, with the braid showing at the back. Unfortunately, no one could confirm for me the truth of this story, but perhaps among the older generation of Canadian Doukhobors people can be found who know something or have heard this story. Evaluating the action of Peter Petrovich, with such ease changing the wearing of a symbol of the Doukhobors, Veriginites say: "With what spirit the hat is worn, so is it removed." Doukhobor women of the village of Gorelovka reproach the Veriginites to this day for their refusal to wear "the Doukhobor covenant."

The gradual loss of traditional dress is connected not only with changes in the religious world view of the Doukhobors, but also with the weakening of religion and isolation in the 1930s and '40s. Popular dress, unless of course, it is not banned outright, does not immediately disappear. At first, the most old-fashioned details (for example the trousers with gusset, *khvartik*, and cap) cease to be worn every day, and are put on only for prayers and for burial. Then this clothing is only used to bury people in, and finally, at best, it is found at the bottom of trunks. If the Caucasus Doukhobors, especially in Gorelovka, still preserve their dress, those near Salsk (Rostov-on-Don region) long ago ceased to wear it.

As we see, a people's attire has its own fate. It is born, lives, and dies. In each generation something of its own, something new appears, - especially now, when one fashion quickly replaces another, and everything old is already considered funny and absurd. Old clothing is not a heap of moth-eaten rags: it is a part of human life, history, and world view. I very much hope that, if one day young Canadian Doukhobors hold the ancient Doukhobor hat in their hands, they will feel respect for this mute witness to the history of the Doukhobors.

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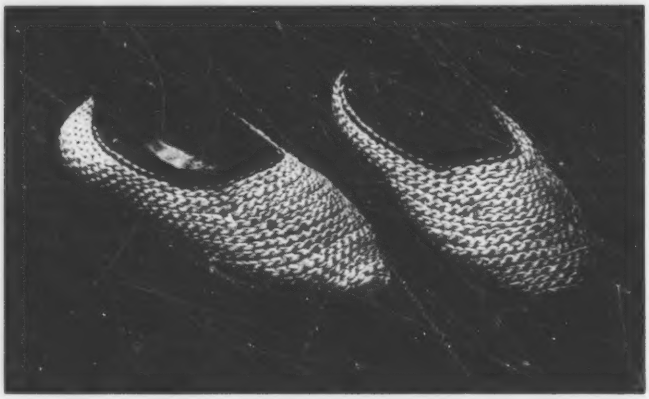
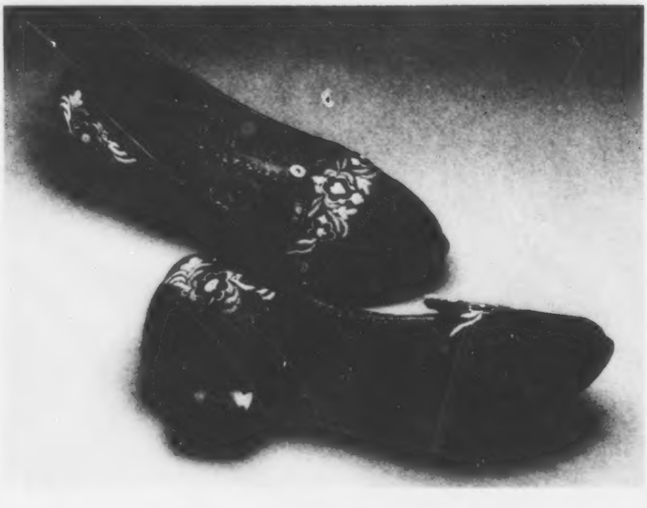


Some Doukhobors are strict vegetarians and avoid using animal products such as meat and leather. This pair of slippers made of braided wheatstraw is typical of those worn in the 1920s and 1930s. (CCFCS 73-850)



Gifted to the Museum in 1964 by Mrs. Mike Karnitsky of Kamsask, Sask., this fancy pair of embroidered shoes was worn on special occasions as part of a Doukhobor woman's Sunday ensemble. (CCFCS 64-5.8)

DOUKHOBOR FURNISHINGS: DESIGN, DECORATION AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ORDINARY

by

Michael Bird

Despite seemingly insuperable obstacles to sheer survival confronting a displaced people in an unfamiliar and untamed land, the production of beautiful things appears to have taken place virtually upon the arrival of the Russian Doukhobors in Canada. Against a popular assumption that only subsequent to a full generation of settlement in a new environment could an economically dispossessed people turn from scant existence to the aesthetic enhancement of their surroundings, Doukhobor pioneers beautified their utilitarian furnishings from the beginning, evidenced in some cases by items dated as early as 1899, the very year in which these newcomers first cast their worried gaze upon the unploughed prairie.

The following observations are based upon the examination of several hundred examples of furniture known to have been made and used by Doukhobors. The discussion must, at the outset, acknowledge certain limitations, the chief among these being the situation that the majority of items were viewed not in original contexts, but rather in public or private collections. Furthermore, the pieces which have found their way into such modern settings tend to be those perceived to be of greater decorative value than those not so collected. These concerns are addressed to some degree by the fact that the intentional focus of the present essay is upon pieces exhibiting decorative embellishment, and the fact that a few pieces have indeed been examined in households and in museums settings which have attempted to replicate or at least suggest the interior environment in which this furniture was once utilized.

Forms

Perhaps the earliest Doukhobor furniture is that which was the most functional of all, notably the storage trunk (*sunduk*), several examples of which are dated 1899. Of all domestic pieces, the *sunduk* was the most serviceable because it was not only furniture but a container for furnishings. Those modest possessions which could be transported to a new continent required some kind of trunk or box, sometimes called the immigrant's chest. In some instances among English and German settlers, the decoration of chests included the names of the owner, place or European origin and of

Canadian destination. Upon setting up of the first sod or log shelters, it is not difficult to imagine that the central piece of furniture, functioning variously as table, commode or stage for bedding or even cooking items was the trunk carried from their Russian homeland. It is also highly conceivable that among the first of the Canadian-made furnishings was the trunk, a piece relatively free from the construction complexities of turnings or drawers immediately usable as furniture and as a place of safe-keeping for domestic articles.

It is interesting to observe the commonplace nature of the storage chest in the Doukhobor home, in comparison with other storage-forms such as chests of drawers. While virtually every Doukhobor family had a *sunduk*, very few possessed chests of drawers. This pattern is noticeable to some degree also among other immigrant groups, such as the Polish settlers who migrated to the Wilno area of Renfrew County in Ontario. The pre-eminence of the storage chest over the chest of drawers in the Doukhobor communities may reflect in part the easier manner of construction of the former, as well as its having a long history of family ownership and use, including the all-important storage of family possessions on the ocean journey from Russia to Canada. The most highly decorated examples date from the early period of Doukhobor settlement. The diminishing number of trunks made in subsequent years may in part be accounted for by the gradual replacement of trunks by more elaborate commodes and cupboards. Some immigrant boxes made in Russia, used for transporting of personal effects, have survived. Some of these feature elaborate ornamental ironwork. Such work is not found on Canadian examples, reflecting the absence of certain village crafts during the period of pioneer settlement. Instead, embellishment, where it occurs, is accomplished by means of occasional tinwork or by painted decoration which frequently amalgamates floral and geometric motifs. In some cases a more complex decorative treatment may include birds and other motifs reminiscent of folk art conventions found in the design of embroidery work, weaving, painted distaffs and other sources in regions of Russia or the Transcaucasus.

The cupboard (*skaf*) replaced or amplified the role of the trunk in meeting storage requirements of the expanding domestic inventory of second-generation settlers. Three principal *skaf*-forms are to be noted: tall floor cupboards, short floor cupboards and hanging cupboards. Tall cupboards occur somewhat infrequently, and were probably made for more commodious homes subsequent to the secondary migration of Doukhobors to the Kootenay region of British Columbia. Such cupboards may have been parlour pieces, with glass doors for display of chinaware or kitchen pieces for storage of supplies and utensils behind glazed or solid doors. More common, however, are shorter cupboards or buffets, most of which have doors and drawers, permitting the keeping of a wide range of items, including tablecoverings, cutlery, storage crocks and utensils.

A form found in both Saskatchewan and British Columbia is the short floor cupboard. Many of these cupboards have panelled lower doors and glazed upper ones. There has been some suggestion that such cupboards sometimes rested upon mud-ledges extending from the walls of early Doukhobor homes, but solid evidence for this usage and placement is absent.

Another type occasionally encountered is the hanging cupboard. In many cultures, the hanging cupboard was used for the keeping of items special to domestic and spiritual life, namely, valuables and religious objects. Within the former might be counted items such as jewellery or small family heirlooms or even money. In other cultures defined as high religious traditions, the later might include holy figures and other items, or devotional books and texts. In less-explicit religious contexts, the hanging cupboard continued to serve readily the need for keeping either precious or important items out of sight of casual visitors or out of reach of children. Even when cupboards were used for the purpose of display, it is often the case that the double function of showing and hiding was accomplished by doors with glass above and panels below (or, alternatively, doors above and drawers below).

The variety and quantity of cupboards is striking, and may account for the comparative scarcity of other furniture forms, especially chests of drawers. Many of the smaller or medium-height cupboards have been found in bedroom settings, where their role is storage of clothing and bedding displaced the function of linen presses and chests of drawers in other cultures.

A form associated principally with the Kootenay region is the commode (*komod*), essentially a table with drawers or doors below, raised above the floor on short turned legs. Such pieces were found in bedrooms or in separate bathrooms. The chest-section could be utilized for the keeping of bedding or toiletries, including basins and pitchers. The greater number of such pieces in the Kootenay settlements may reflect what the cabinetmaker was trained or inclined to make, what the local clientele wanted, or a combination of factors. A somewhat more prosperous life, a slightly more moderate climate, better-built housing and heated bedrooms may all have had a role to play in the more common usage of the washstand in the Kootenay region.

Furniture for sitting and reclining takes several forms. Unlike the amalgamation of forms which resulted in the sleep-bench (*Schlafbank, Schlopbenkj)* popular in Mennonite homes of the Canadian prairie or American plain, distinct forms met each need separately in Doukhobor homes. The bed (*krovat* or *postel*) is typically comprised of headboard and footboard, joined by removable rails, upon which slats were arranged to support a mattress or tick. In most cases, the headboard and footboard were mortised-and-tenoned into turned or square posts, while rails were of either square or turned form. Combinations such as bench-beds or extendable beds were generally unknown.

Seating - chair (*stul*) or bench (*skamya*) - is of interest because of the considerable variety of forms and styles among Doukhobor examples. Forms included chairs, backless benches, benches with backs, and benches with lids or drawers. Examples of the last type are referred to popularly as boot-benches, alluding to their use in the storage of footwear. Such benches were found on verandas and in kitchens.

A particularly interesting Doukhobor seating-form is that of the long *skamya*, constructed of horizontal slats fixed to legs and back carved frequently from a single piece. Such benches, found principally in the Kootenay region, resemble closely turn-of-the-century benches found in railroad terminals or parks, and would appear to be virtual copies of these public forms, but given Doukhobor stylistic identity by scalloped profiles and flared feet.

Styles of seating reflect a broad range of influences, among them the ubiquitous "Windsor" style spindled chair and the mail-order-catalogue chair with press-back crest rail advertised widely by the T. Eaton and other companies. Other, earlier styles which influenced Doukhobor *stul* design included neoclassical forms, notably Biedermeier, or baroque-revival forms which may reflect an earlier French style brought to Russia in the 18th century.

Undoubtedly the most distinctive of all Doukhobor furniture forms are the many variations of the table (*stol*), made both in Saskatchewan and British Columbia. Most of these tables were found in kitchens, and the presence of drawers in many examples probably reflects the storage of cutlery and basic items kept on hand for ordinary eating requirements. It has been suggested that some tables served additional functions, notably in the religious *sobranie* or public spiritual gatherings, where they may have been used for the placement of the salt, water and bread which were set out in this spiritual event. Such functions have been inferred with regard to the special storage cabinet found on a few examples, and also in connection with several round tables whose tops can be rotated, perhaps to facilitate the ritual sharing of the ritual elements central to this service. Most Doukhobor tables have removable tops, cleated to prevent warpage, and are of sophisticated construction, with elaborately turned legs and profusely carved aprons and drawer facades.

Other and smaller forms included hanging cradles, essentially frames with canvas bottoms, suspended on ropes from hooks or rings in the ceiling. The end boards of such cradles were frequently carved or shaped according to typical Doukhobor foliate profiles, and one example in the Canadian Museum of Civilization features painted tulips on the ends. Doukhobor decorative enhancement extended to their utilitarian areas, especially with respect to the implements used for spinning (wheels, distaffs, heddles, flax combs, spool-holders), for laundering and making up of bedding (laundry sticks, mangles or sheet-smoothers), portable clock-cases and kitchen utensils (especially ladles, made in many sizes with varied carved embellishments). Pegged coatracks and small shelves were often decoratively carved or painted, as were mirror or picture frames.

Designs

Designs were carried over from one form of furniture to another, although the shapes and areas of particular pieces create opportunities or limitations such that certain decorative techniques are sometimes more likely to be found in given forms rather than others.

Doukhobor furniture design is difficult to delineate because of its highly syncretistic nature, drawing as it does upon a distant Russian or Transcaucasian past and upon a more immediate Canadian context. The Transcaucasian background is highly diversified due to the impinging of Russian, Turkish and other cultural influences in this ancient region of travel and trade. The Canadian context is no less complex, comprised of Victorian and Eastlake furnishings popular among other groups, and upon the various early 20th-century mass-produced furniture being advertised widely in the large mail-order catalogues published by the Eaton Company and even American firms such as Sears Roebuck and Company.

The sources of folk-art motifs are many, to be certain, and attempts to assign specific prototypes or contexts can be extremely difficult and without the satisfaction of solid evidence. To be certain, among those sources suggested, the matter of "high" art is of considerable importance, particularly when the art of accomplished craftspersons survives in public settings or is widely disseminated on jewellery or other portable forms. One might very well look for folk-art inspiration from that vast range of early decorative arts known in Russian culture as *uzorochye*, an ancient term denoting virtually anything which is richly patterned. Thus, such popular Doukhobor motifs as the three-lobed lily are to be found variously on ecclesiastical utensils, a diadem, an ancient silver *krater*, medieval ironwork, enamelwork or an almost unlimited range of objects and settings (for examples, see Rybakov 1971). One might also consider the possibility that architectural motifs provide sources for furniture design. Parallel arguments for this design-influence can be seen in situations as diverse as the connections between shop-fronts and decorative motifs in Irish furniture (cf. Cotton 1989:3) or the links between Dutch or Polish baroque building facades and Mennonite pedimented cupboards (cf. R. K. Janzen and J. M. Janzen 1991:59). In the case of Doukhobor furniture, there is a continuity of decorative motif between painted or carved details on case-pieces and carved lintels or pierce-work tin arcades on prayer meeting homes and other buildings. These designs may themselves reflect the long-standing custom of carved gable-ends (*prichelini*) or traceried balconies (*nalichniki*) on Russian peasant houses.

Through diversity can be seen certain commonly-repeated characteristics of Doukhobor furniture, especially in the predilection for curvilinear design features. This tendency is evident in such varied examples as the cabriole leg, the scalloped table apron, the interior edge of the picture frame, the bed frame, the chair back, the profile of coat racks and shelves, the shaping of verandah arcading and balusters. In some cases this may well be a faint echo of the Renaissance or Baroque curve, as in the elaborately carved tables and scalloped chairs. The importation of French Empire or Directoire style into Russia was part and parcel of leaning toward French ideas much favoured during the reign of Catherine The Great (1762-96). While French taste made its impact upon the high style of the Russian aristocracy, its more distant influence upon the furniture design in the provincial hinterlands was bound to occur in the way that folk art frequently draws upon the high art of urban culture. The cabriolege leg and curved profile of chair backs or table skirts may at times suggest a provincial interpretation of the Louis XIV style in centres such as Moscow or St. Petersburg. In other Canadian furniture examples are to be found design influences of much later date; indeed the profile of certain pieces is more suggestive of the more recent influence of Biedermeier or even American Empire styles.

Decorative Motifs

Techniques:

While design in the present discussion refers primarily to profile, decoration has to do principally with surface. Certain decorative motifs occur repeatedly, while others are found on lesser occasion and some rarely. Techniques of decoration include painting, carving, incising and inlay.

Carving is the technique used in the main for the decoration of tables, where it takes the form either of fretwork, cut completely through the apron-board, not unlike that of cutwork metal arcading on verandas, or, alternatively, as *bas-relief* carving done more lightly on the surface of aprons and drawers. These techniques, particularly the latter, are utilized also on chair backs, in rare instances on case furniture and occasionally on coat-racks and shelves. Relief-carving reaches its greatest sophistication and concentration of emphasis on picture frames made between the dates of 1903 and 1908 and, occasionally, at a later date. Carving is also applied to the shaping of furniture contours, beyond the design features already defining its style, imparting decorative emphasis at selected places of prominence. Such naturally significant places include the crest of chairs, crowns of cupboards and brackets or centre-points of table aprons. Such carving frequently takes the form of stylized floral motifs on tables and chairs, and sometimes, animal forms on cupboards or ladles and other utilitarian articles.

Motifs:

Decorative enhancement falls into six categories: (a) lettering and dating, (b) geometric designs, (c) floral motifs, (d) leaf or petal motifs, (e) the heart motif, (f) animal motifs.

Lettering and Dating:

The identification and dating of certain items suggests the importance attributed to the item, the person or the occasion on which it was made. Several trunks bear the date 1899, a significant year marking the beginning of life in a new-found land. Whether other dates are of particular significance beyond a craftworker's desire simply to indicate a personal record of having made something of aesthetic value is difficult to ascertain. Among such dated pieces are mirror frames with dates between 1903 and 1908.

Geometric Designs:

The most popular geometric motif utilized is that of the compass-star, a design which can be drawn with considerable precision by use of a compass moved along a circle so that its arcs cross and connect one another. The compass-star appears most commonly on the many Doukhobor trunks made in Western Canada. Other geometric designs may include lozenges and half-circles. Somewhat related motifs may include fans or sunbursts.

Floral Motifs:

The sunflower or rosette, a more naturalistic counterpart to the abstract compass-star, appears as a painted motif on trunks, a cutwork motif on verandah arcading and by combined means of carving and painting on other pieces. The vine is used to accent borders or as a central embellishment, sometimes painted. The tulip is found as a carved motif, sometimes in relief, on chairs, cupboards, frames, various piecework and even on ornamental brickwork. Other floral motifs include simple petal-clusters and sprigs, rendered somewhat sketchily in corners of painted trunks or on spinning wheels.

Leaf or Petal Motifs:

A variant of floral design is the rendering of a detail, such as the leaf or petal, often in a stylized or abstracted manner. This motif is almost the watermark of Doukhobor decorative arts, appearing widely in such varied contexts as cemetery gates, decorative tinwork arcading, balusters, chairbacks, bedposts, table aprons and drawerfronts, coat-racks and shelves, picture frames, utensils and ladles. In short, its absence is more surprising than its presence in Doukhobor decorative work. Its most common form is that of the two-lobed or three-lobed leaf or petal.

The Heart:

A decorative motif found in many cultures of European background, the heart occurs in Doukhobor folk art, often at the meeting-place of curves and stylized floral elements, in painted surfaces, ironwork on trunks, or as a carved motif on picture frames.

Animal-Motifs:

Of much greater rarity, animal-motifs are known on but a handful of Doukhobor furnishings. For example, the lion is found in isolated instances as a carved embellishment reminiscent of heraldry, bookplates, cemetery markers or public buildings, from which the Doukhobor carver has adapted the naive interpretation.

Horsehead-motifs are a well-known prophylactic convention, which along with depictions of other beasts have a traditional role in fending off evil spirits. In such contexts these motifs were frequently placed on the peaks of house, church or barn roofs, and, in the way that furniture frequently imitates architecture, found their way on to the pediments of Doukhobor cupboards.

Birds are among those motifs which occur frequently in textiles, ceramics and in some forms of Russian painted furniture such as distaffs. Their appearance in Canadian Doukhobor furnishings is restricted to a few painted trunks and to the metal strapwork on a small number of earlier trunks. Among bird motifs, the double-headed eagle (in German, the widespread *Doppel-Adler* motif) is a long-established symbol which appears in heraldry and imperial art from the Holy Roman Empire (and earlier, the Roman Empire itself) down through the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Hapsburg Monarchy, and taken into the Imperial art of Tsarist Russia. The Dopple-Adler motif is to be seen among several Russian subgroups, including the German-speaking Mennonites who used the motif in cookie cutters and textiles. Among Canadian Doukhobor settlements, this particular motif is rare.

Conclusion

Doukhobor furnishings are of sufficiently elaborate design complexity or decorative embellishment to suggest that amidst the drudgery of life on the prairie, the beautification of life was deemed valuable. Perhaps analogous to the design beauty of the woven rugs and runners, made by Doukhobor women, were the furnishings traditionally made by men and used by both men and women. While there is little evidence of art-for-art's sake in the furnishings of early Doukhobor communities (paintings are virtually unknown from the first generations of settlement), very frequent indeed is the utilization of paintbrush, knife, pen or chisel to give aesthetic enhancement even to those items whose functions were most ordinary.

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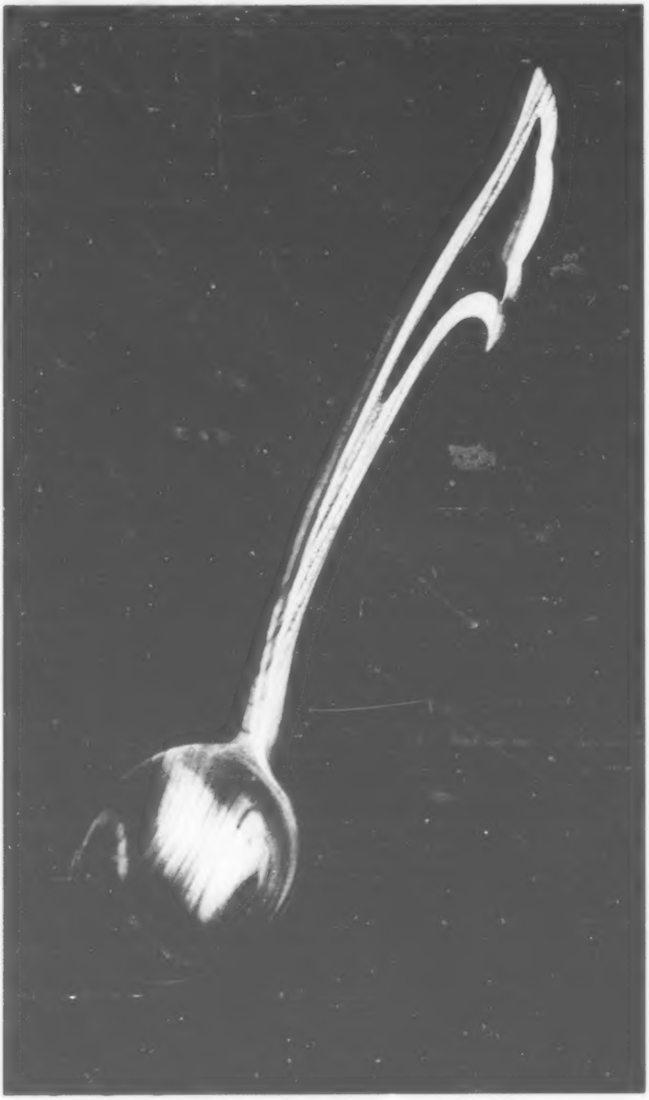


Doukhobor ladles have become popular mementos. Carved by Nick Denisoff of Glade, B.C., this large specimen, made of birch, was originally presented as a gift to the wife of the Governor General of Canada, Mrs. Roland Michener, when she and her husband visited Kootenay Valley, B.C. (CCFCS 74-2)

DOUKHOBOR MUSEUMS IN CANADA

by
Larry A. Ewashen

Three major Doukhobor museums are found in Western Canada. Located at Grand Forks and Castlegar in British Columbia and in Verigin, Saskatchewan, all three are devoted exclusively to the Doukhobor heritage, although some objects from other sources have crept in, and in some cases the specific origin of the artifacts is difficult to establish. There are other commonalities. Perhaps the most important is the fact that all three were formed out of a sense of desperation and urgency; the most trivial common thread is that the formation of each involved someone called Peter. Peter is a popular name among Doukhobors, and in most cases, children were named Peter after Peter Vasilevich or Peter Petrovich Verigin, father and son leaders of the movement. Peter V. Verigin, in turn, was named after St. Peter, his name day Saint; an important one in the Russian Orthodox Church calendar; although by the time of Verigin's birth the Doukhobors had renounced all Orthodox holidays along with the trappings and teachings of the Orthodox Church. Still, some remnants of the Orthodox faith lingered.

What follows is a brief history of the formation of each of the museums, with comparisons where relevant. Because the original settlement of the Doukhobors took place in Saskatchewan, and because the village of Verigin was the permanent headquarters of the Doukhobor communal holdings, I will deal with this museum first.

Only one of the three museums involved the Doukhobor community as a whole; this occurred in Verigin, Saskatchewan. In Castlegar, the non-Doukhobor community played a pivotal role. In Grand Forks it was a single Doukhobor individual who created the museum. The village of Verigin was once the headquarters of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood (C.C.U.B.), the largest communal enterprise in Canada of its days. This site remained the headquarters (until 1931 when it was transferred to Brilliant, B.C.) even after the main body of the communal Doukhobors had migrated to newly purchased holdings in British Columbia. After the general foreclosure against the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood by the trust and mortgage companies in 1939, all land, buildings and equipment went into liquidation. An entrepreneur of Ukrainian descent by the name of Mr. Welykholowa came into possession of the Verigin Doukhobor village property. The abandoned village was a ready source of construction material; as he erected new buildings in nearby

Kamsack, he tore down the ones on the village property for the wood and brick. By the middle forties, only two buildings were left -- a large machine shed and the Peter V. Verigin communal residence. One of the last two remaining structures on this original site of the Doukhobor village, this residence or *dom* would soon house the first collection of Doukhobor artifacts of the area, and its threatened destruction would stimulate the formation of a "National Doukhobor Heritage Village."

This was a striking building, a unique example of Russian-Georgian architecture of the nineteenth century, complete with wrap around second story balcony with hand-tooled metal scroll work. The upper floor housed living quarters; kitchen, office, bedroom and dining area while the main floor featured the common meeting room with another balustrade around the entire building. This magnificent structure was built in 1917-18, taking nearly two years and various skilled Doukhobor artisans. To this day, it is a singular Doukhobor building in Canada, and probably one of the best preserved of its type in the world. It was this building that served as the official headquarters of the C.C.U.B. and residence of Peter V. Verigin, and later, his son.

As Mr. Welykholowa's projects continued, his lumber resources diminished; soon only this elaborate reminder of an earlier life style remained, along with a large machine shed. He was loathe to tear it down but there did not seem to be an alternative. The neighbouring Doukhobor community had sat by as the recycling continued, and there appeared to be little interest in these remaining properties by the local citizens. It was this final, threatened destruction that galvanized the Doukhobors into action. A lock on the door of this historic residence where they often met in a *sobranie* [meeting] was the magical stimulus for action.

About 1946, the Verigin Doukhobor Society was formed. In the proverbial nick of time, the Society embarked on a fundraising campaign directed at all Doukhobors, Independants and former members of the C.C.U.B. as well as non-Doukhobors and raised enough money to buy back the former village property and the two remaining buildings. In the ensuing years, ten members of the society co-signed a loan for $20,000 to have some day-to-day operating capital. The old residence, empty for years, was cleaned out, restored and maintained by the Verigin Doukhobor Society. This Society continued to look after the building until 1982, when it officially became part of the National Doukhobor Heritage Village and a Provincial Heritage Site. Throughout that time, and until the present, it is used as a prayer home and meeting centre by the Verigin Doukhobor Society. Gradually, it began to fill with artifacts. After all, the local

Doukhobor farms and homes, and even garbage dumps, were full of them as the pioneers strove to adopt a more modern life style.

Thus, almost imperceptibly, the concept and importance of the museum began to form throughout the local Doukhobor population. Stimulated by an article in *The Inquirer* (1956), the only Doukhobor English language newsmagazine in Canada at that time, a delegation of six locally prominent Doukhobors approached a lawyer to begin lobbying the government for payments to the Doukhobor societies, monies which were left over from the liquidation of assets as well as the balance left over from transfer fees payed by new owners of former C.C.U.B. properties. After it was stressed that these monies would be used to create a lasting memorial to the Doukhobors rather than a commercial venture, the monies became available along with a calculated accrued additional interest in 1980. The resulting $107,460.00 enabled the restoration to begin in earnest and put the museum on a firmer financial foundation. Old historic buildings were brought in from surrounding areas to allow the artifacts to be housed in their proper contexts including a cottage, barn, blacksmith shop, *bania* [bath house], etc. At the present time visitors numbering three to four thousand annually visit the grounds, Peter's Day peace ceremonies (commemorating the June 1895 burning of guns in tsarist Russia) are conducted here, and a special event, Heritage Day, is staged two weeks later in mid-July featuring ethnic cooking, singing and some rudimentary craft demonstrations as well as a re-enactment of women ploughing. In addition, special tours and ethnic lunches are held for schools, Senior Citizens, and others upon request. These living history activities are managed by a sizable volunteer staff, one permanent maintenance employee, and paid summer help when government employment creation agencies make this possible.

Today, the National Doukhobor Heritage Village in the village of Verigin is a complex of ten buildings, but has yet to become a vital presence in this shrinking community. The village museum complex is a suitable pioneering project of a glorious past. However, as with most cultural programs, particularly those dependant on volunteers, continuity becomes an ongoing struggle. There is no one on the Board of Directors under retirement age, professionalism and scholarship are not encouraged, the status quo can only continue while the present members are alive. There are no young people to take over the many duties, no effort has been made to hire full-time professional curatorial staff, and the temporary summer help is busy repairing the buildings and tending the grounds rather than becoming students of Doukhobor or provincial history. Consequently, an informed tour is generally not possible for the casual visitor. The resulting instability leaves the institution in an undetermined vacuum without a sense of direction or development. Until now, the physical act of obtaining buildings and gathering artifacts has given focus to the Board; however, that phase has been completed, and the future must now be met by a generation of younger, concerned Doukhobors or non-Doukhobors which does not seem to exist.

A large institution created by the C.C.U.B. fund of over $100,000 now requires large amounts of money to maintain. Initially, the monies had been spent mostly on capital works instead of judicial investment in projects generating income. Despite food sales, raffles and admission fees, today fundraising is on the decline and not sufficient for the proper maintenance and development of the museum. Prominent Doukhobors such as the late Paul Strelioff have made large donations of cash and buildings to the museum; others are less generous. At the same time the local Board members seem to be reluctant to engage in active fundraising. Other members of the Doukhobor community still use the residence hall as "a church" [although Doukhobors do not have churches, but meeting homes] for funerals and even a recent wedding in a traditional way, but do not contribute money towards running the museum in the same sense as parishioners of regular church congregations do. This may be because there is no organized clergy and therefore the costs of maintaining the social centre are not apparent. Others by-pass Verigin for the Doukhobor cultural Hall in Kamsack, only a few kilometres away, for events such as funerals and thus support that centre. Some see no reason to contribute to the museum which receives money from government sources, believing that the government will "take care of everything". Non-Doukhobors and some funding agencies are reluctant to contribute money to what appears to be an exclusively Doukhobor centre.

Following the devastating land loss of 1907, the next few years saw many local Doukhobors and charismatic leader, Peter V. Verigin, heading by wagons to the train station of Yorkton. From Yorkton, by train the parties travelled several hundred miles to the new settlements of Grand Forks and Castlegar, BC. Among them were Tom and Martha [née Vishlow] Oglow. Tom Oglow was a carpenter as well as a steam engineer and his skills would be particularly useful in the new colony of Brilliant. Heavy with child, Martha Oglow was soon to face the unusual, daunting prospect of child birth en route. Children believed to be destined as potential leaders, scholars, or those imbued with unusual gifts and marked for special achievements were often called Peter, and so it was in this case. Some fifty years later, Peter T. Oglow would become instrumental in forming the Kootenay Doukhobor Historical Society, the feature attraction of which was the Castlegar Doukhobor Museum. In 1968, a civic-minded delegation comprised of representatives from the business and academic community met together with the idea of forming a museum. They had noticed that the Doukhobor communal homes were disappearing, and felt that a representation of the unique Doukhobor way of life should be preserved. The Kootenay Doukhobor Historical Society was formed and the collection of artifacts was begun. Next door was Selkirk College which played a key role through the participation of staff members, as well as by donating a storage room for the artifacts. Others, including Peter's brothers and other prominent Doukhobors, donated time and transport for the collecting of materials.

One day in 1971, Peter did not appear for work at the successful construction company that he and his brothers owned and operated - the Oglow Brothers Building and Construction. Peter had a works crew ready to start construction and excavation for the Castlegar Doukhobor Museum, a choice location on previously Doukhobor owned land. However, there was a hold-up in receiving a work permit to begin excavations and Peter was on site in intense negotiations with the City Building Inspector. His brothers, Nicholas, Bill and Paul, had been aware of his interest in the Doukhobor historical work for some time now, as well as his skills in wooden spoon carving. This was an appropriate time to tell him not to bother showing up for work at the company in the future. He wasn't fired, he was just relieved of his duties, yet he would continue to draw his salary and would now be free to devote his talents exclusively to Doukhobor historical preservation and other community projects. It is to this exceptional family, and to his supportive wife, Mary, that Peter Oglow is eternally grateful. This arrangement allowed him to devote his skills full-time to Doukhobor affairs, and the resulting museum was only one of the crowning accomplishments of his unique volunteer efforts.

Although excavation work for the museum began without an official permit, the City Inspector finally provided one under Peter's diplomatic cajoling, and the museum was born as a Castlegar-Kinnaird Centennial '71 project. The central building of the museum was built from materials of a similar demolished building and from the original plans; in effect, a reconstruction. The year 1971 also marked a Royal Visit to Canada, and with typical aplomb, Peter decided to invite the Queen for a visit to the new museum. Arrangements were made, and $4,000 of the $16,000 start-up grant from the Federal and City governments went to security requirements; however, the resultant publicity for the museum was invaluable and quickly cemented the museum in the minds of the local citizens as a present and future attraction, insuring their support and favourable recommendations to visitors. Through his imaginative guidance and a supportive Board of Directors which include representatives from the entire community, the museum continues to flourish; its capital holdings are now in excess of two million dollars, and visitors number over 15,000 annually. A near-by concession-food specialty shop restaurant featuring Doukhobor cuisine has been added, an authentic tourist attraction and fund raiser. The energetic Board continues to feature innovations such as weaving and spinning demonstrations by the local Crafts Guild. Eventually, other living museum exhibits such as a blacksmith shop are envisioned; some horse and wagon hayrides have taken place and will hopefully become a permanent feature. Other plans include a traditional bakery which will feature organic bread baking and other culinary items such as *borshch* and *lapsha* [noodles]. In addition to supplying the restaurant these items will be for sale as take-home foods. Curatorial concerns and scholarship are also highlighted. Past curators have included people such as Peter Legebokoff, a life long scholar and authority on Doukhobor culture. It is the intention of the museum to continue this trend to informed scholarship, the collection of artifacts, and links to nearby Selkirk College where cooperative courses on such topics as Doukhobor history and studies on peace and non-violence can be developed.

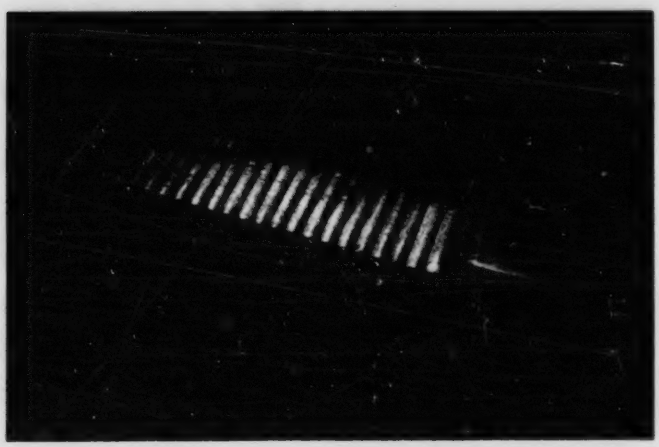
A peace research centre and a resource library featuring writings on pacifism and non-violence has also been discussed. Peter Oglow and his Board realize that for the museum to be a continuing success, they must strive to be relevant and inclusive of the community around them; they must also compete for visitors and tourist dollars, and they must do this without sacrificing the principles of the museum and by offering significant features that are not available elsewhere. If this present attitude is maintained, the Kootenay Doukhobor Historical museum should continue to flourish and present an active historical, as well as an active contemporary Doukhobor face to the world outside.

Falling somewhere between these extremes in outlook and management, we meet our third "Peter" at the Mountain View Doukhobor Museum in Grand Forks, British Columbia. In the difficult years of the depression, whether by accident or political design, the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood once again faced collapse, this time with no reprieve as Sun Life and other mortgage companies foreclosed in 1938 on the entire holdings valued at $6,000,000 for an interest default of $300,000. Faced with the prospect of hundreds of citizens turned out of their homes, literally onto the streets, the provincial government assumed ownership of the properties and allowed the residents to continue living in their homes as tenants. Tangible assets such as sawmills and factories were sold off to erase the debt. The government continued to hold the properties until 1961. At that time, intire holdings were surveyed into individual size lots; Doukhobors were to have first choice in purchasing properties for residences. The site and principal building of the future museum was first purchased by Miss Ann Makortoff in 1963. Although it had been abandoned since 1964, and resembling "a giant bird house", to a practised eye this *dom* was suitable for restoration. For this task, Peter Gritchen brought forth his skills as a master housebuilder, as well as a talented recording artist of Doukhobor songs. Because of his interest in the cultural and spiritual life of the Doukhobors, Peter Gritchen was aware of the destruction of the old communal structures as they were being converted into single family residences; others were torn down for building materials. He had also seen valuable and significant artifacts being sold at yard sales, auctions, and others being dumped in the town refuse site. (One story reports that he rescued Peter V. Verigin's bed from the local dump.) The suburban elite of cities such as Regina, Vancouver, Toronto, and even Los Angeles had discovered that it was chique to have a Doukhobor spinning wheel in your sitting room, a Doukhobor trunk in your children's room, or even a Doukhobor loom in your recreation room.

The Kootenays were being plundered by big city entrepreneurs; this was a hey day for pickers and raiders who assailed the countryside, buying furniture and other artifacts by the truckload, usually from older, gullible pioneers for a few dollars and then quickly reselling them for much higher amounts. Many fine rugs, especially those brought from Russia, changed hands many times as they moved up the social scale. Such rugs often took one or more women two years or more to complete. Looking on in dismay as more and more trucks disappeared down the No. 3 Highway with their booty, realizing the artistry and labour that went into each piece, and thinking that perhaps there would soon be nothing left in the entire valley, Peter Gritchen made a decisive move that was to change the rest of his life. He traded his middle class life style for a much more modest one and began spending a great deal of time working as hard as ever but receiving mostly spiritual satisfaction for wages. He purchased the *dom* which had served as communal dining and sleeping quarters for up to forty people, and began filling it with artifacts which he collected. This collecting process along with restoration and rebuilding has continued to the present time. As the artifacts were placed into their new surroundings, the doors were opened to the public, weekends at first, then all summer long.

From its inception, this Mountain View Museum has been a unique one-man operation. Refusing assistance and shunning government grants for fear of interference, Peter Gritchen's resources are limited. Consequently the hours, design, upkeep and organization of the entire place are sometimes haphazard. The museum is ideally situated on a scenic hillside overlooking the town, but some find it difficult to locate: it is not particularly well publicized. However, many of the curious and genuinely interested seek out this authentic site with its rooms crammed full of artifacts, photographs and documents. Since its opening, Peter has personally greeted and toured guests from Finland, France to Japan, and has even serenaded some with his accordion, guitar, and dulcet voice. Visitors number about 1,000 to 1,500 a year. The idyllic setting and the many artifacts are well worth a visit. Even with the dust and apparent disarray, the collections somehow magically pull you to the life gone by. As Peter nears retirement age, it is possible that he will sell the entire operation, which hopefully will continue as a Doukhobor museum.

Like the diverse beliefs of the Doukhobors themselves, these three museums offer a wide range of philosophical outlooks as well as development and future prospects. We can only hope that these three cultural preservation facilities will survive into the next century.



This paddle from British Columbia (along with a separate roller, not shown) was used in a Doukhobor household as a mangle to press laundry. (CCFCS 74-551)

A View from Within:

THE SPINNING WHEEL

by

Stanley Petroff

At one time people had to make all of the fabric needed for their everyday clothing with their own hands, as well as many types of linen for various uses. They purchased very little manufactured cloth, because it was in short supply and there were times when it was difficult to obtain the necessities in certain areas. These circumstances forced women to undertake such work at an early age and to continue sitting behind a spinning wheel and loom into their old age in order to provide their families with clothing and footwear needs. We have stopped doing this type of work about 40 to 45 years ago. However, we have not lost the habit of working with our hands, nor our interest in these activities. The interest remains among the people, even among the younger generations, and there is always the desire to give the spinning wheel a whirl or to work a few minutes at the loom.

During the twenty years that I have been making both ordinary and fancy spinning wheels and looms, I was fortunate to meet many amateurs of this type of work. There were also those who bought spinning wheels as decorative items, so that they could have something traditional in their homes.

I have always liked working with wood. I remember visiting a cousin in another Doukhobor village soon after Fannie and I were married. The cousin was making spinning wheels and was using a lathe to turn the wood. I wanted to work with a lathe. So I went home and built one. The lathe was foot-powered. My sisters had to take turns pedalling while I worked on the wood. The effort paid off. I made three vertical flyer spinning wheels on my lathe, one each for my mother, my sister, and for Fannie. Today, seventy years later, both the homemade lathe and Fannie's wheel reside in the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

I continue to make spinning wheels, but with more sophisticated tools, now. Examples of my spinning wheels are found in homes across western Canada, the United States, Russia, and even two in South Africa. It takes me about one week to build a full-sized spinning wheel. I use birch wood which I purchase from private lumber suppliers. Every year I take a trip up north to choose a fresh supply. The wood is also used for making repairs. I do a lot of work for our people in British Columbia. They send me all their broken wheels to fix.

By far the most popular of my crafts are miniatures - replicas of the vertical flyer spinning wheel. They stand about 15 inches high and are fully operational. I make several at a time and even so I can't keep up with the demand.

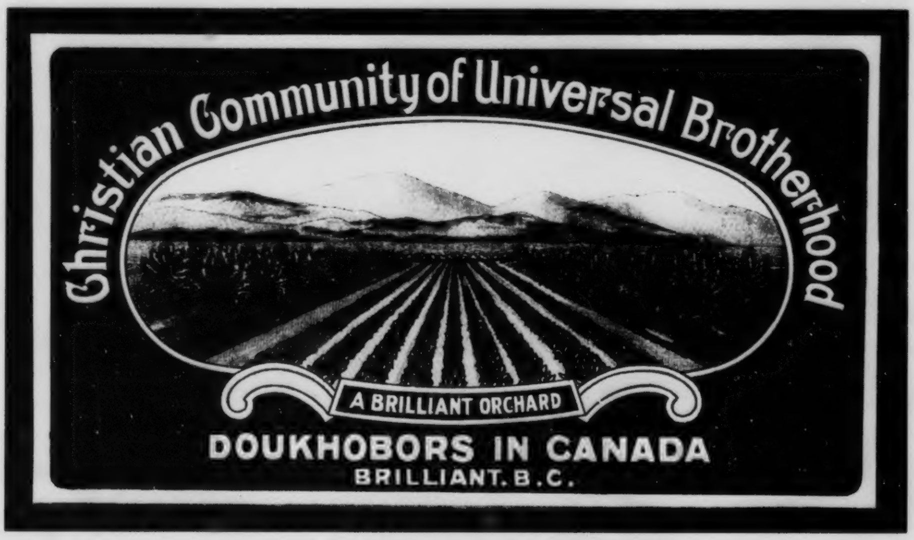
Another of my endeavours is building weaving looms. For the first five years, my wife Fannie was also interested in such crafts as spinning and weaving, which provided me with a reason for creating looms. I started by building a small table model and then began making larger ones, up to one metre wide. Initially, we had little knowledge of textile-making, but fortunately for us, two of our neighbours turned out to be expert weavers, and they were extremely helpful. Weaving is a great art. There is much to learn. With our neighbours' help, we succeeded in learning a little about the art of weaving.

Over the last few years, Fannie has exhibited her woven fabrics in several public places and during a visit by Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip to our Doukhobor Heritage Village in Verigin on 19 October 1989. The Queen came up to my wife's work and expressed her delight with it, which subsequently inspired my wife to send her a set of table napkins - for which she received a letter of thanks from the Queen.

Weaving and spinning requires much time and patience, and they can be nerve-wracking and upsetting work. However, in the long run, this folk art can bring much happiness and delight not only during one's lifetime, but for generations to come.

Made in Canora, Sask. in 1924, this Doukhobor spinning wheel was gifted to the Museum by the maker, Mr. Stanley Petroff, and his wife in 1972. (CCFCS 72-285)

PART FOUR: HISTORICAL FORAYS


Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood
A BRILLIANT ORCHARD
DOUKHOBORS IN CANADA
BRILLIANT. B.C.

Paper labels like this one were used on tins of jam produced and marketed as a commercial venture, circa 1920. (CCFCS 81-250)

JAMES MAVOR, PETER KROPOTKIN, LEV TOLSTOY AND THE DOUKHOBORS

by
†George Woodcock

One day, when I was talking to the Canadian dramatist Mavor Moore about his childhood, he recollected going in his parents' house to answer a ring on the doorbell. "And there stood Princess Kropotkin." Princess Kropotkin was actually Alexandra (Sasha), the daughter of the famous Russian anarchist and geographer, Peter Kropotkin, who had renounced his princely title, which Sasha resumed; after her father's death near Moscow in 1921 she had migrated to the United States and lived in New York. The friendship she sustained with Mavor's mother, the actress Dora Mavor Moore, was a continuation of that which had existed since the mid-1880s between her father and James Mavor, the distinguished Scottish Canadian political economist who was Dora's father, and whose memoir (Mavor, 1923) is one of the most interesting of Canadian autobiographies. It was a friendship that would eventually involve a number of important Russian writers and intellectuals and lead to the coming of the Doukhobors to Canada.

Kropotkin and James Mavor first met in November 1886 when Kropotkin had gone to Edinburgh to lecture on anarchism. He stayed with James Stuart Blackie, the Classical scholar and translator of Aeschylus and among the people he met on the occasion were Patrick Geddes, Fritjof Nansen (then a young man studying in Scotland), and James Mavor, then professor of political economy at St, Mungo's College in Glasgow; he would not take up his post at the University of Toronto until 1892. The meeting stayed vividly in Mavor's mind, and he wrote in his autobiography what is perhaps the best portrait we have of Kropotkin at this time, when he was forty-two and at the height of his vigour.

> He was short, not more than five and a half feet, slight in build, with unusually small feet, a slender waist and broad shoulders. He had a short neck and a large head. He wore a full brown beard, seldom trimmed and never lacking its distinctive character. The top of his head was destitute of hair, but on the sides and back his dark brown hair was ample. His eyes sparkled with genius, and when he was roused became almost incandescent. His manner had about it the air of a court; but with his friends his affectionate solicitude was the outcome of a sincere and warm heart. He wrote in English with

> accuracy and a distinct sense of style, and he wrote in French with equal facility and distinction, but in speaking the languages his accent was by no means perfect (Mavor, 1923:92).

The friendship continued, Mavor visiting Kropotkin in Harrow, which was his first home in English exile, and they kept in touch after Mavor went to Canada, conducting a considerable and highly interesting correspondence which is now preserved in the Fisher Library at the University of Toronto. In September 1897, when the British Association for the Advancement of Science held its annual meeting in Toronto, Kropotkin gave two papers there, derived from the geographical expeditions that had predated his anarchist militancy, on the glacial deposits of Finland and on his influential theories regarding the structure of the East Asian mountain ranges. He stayed for several weeks with Mavor in Toronto, and then travelled across Canada as far as Victoria, taking advantage of an excursion on the recently opened Canadian Pacific which William Van Horne had arranged on behalf of the visiting scientists. He returned more slowly, stopping in the new towns of the prairies and the pioneer settlements that were rapidly and rawly growing up. Often he came into contact with people from the Russian steppes: the Ukrainians -- then mostly called Galicians -- whom Clifford Sifton was industriously importing, and especially the Mennonites who had left Russia in the 1870s to avoid military service and who were living in communal villages in what later became Saskatchewan and using their experience of dry farming on the steppes to pioneer agricultural methods suited to the prairies. Kropotkin embodied his observations in a lengthy article in *The Nineteenth Century* (March 1898) which is still worth reading for its vivid impressions of a pioneer world.

It was this article that came to the attention of Lev Tolstoy's close friend and follower, Vladimir Chertkov, who like Kropotkin was living in exile in England where he had founded a Tolstoyan colony at Purleigh which became the headquarters of the Tolstoyan Committee that was seeking aid for the Doukhobors, at this time sorely persecuted in Russia because of their refusal to bear arms. A pioneer group -- assisted by Tolstoyans and English Quakers -- had already gone to Cyprus, then a British colony, but conditions there turned out to be unsatisfactory, and Chertkov and his committee were considering an alternative when Kropotkin's article appeared, describing the favourable conditions the Mennonites had received for settlement on the Canadian prairies. They had been given their land in large blocks, instead of in quarter sections of 160 acres as happened to ordinary farmers under the Dominion Land Act, and had been allowed to settle in villages instead of being required to reside each on his own homestead. This enabled them to maintain their own form of communal organization, which was not unlike that of the Doukhobors, while they had been exempted from the provisions of the Canadian militia laws.

Kropotkin was already familiar with the Doukhobors, for he had encountered settlements of them in eastern Siberia when he explored that region in the 1860s, and he had admired their communal organization, while he was now concerned over the plight of those in the Caucasus. As soon as Chertkov wrote to him, he went to Purleigh, and convinced the Tolstoyan Committee that Canada was the best of all possible places for the Doukhobors to settle. Two Doukhobor delegates were already in England; they visited Kropotkin, who now lived at Bromley, and it was decided that they should immediately go to Canada to assess the situation. Meanwhile, Kropotkin wrote to James Mavor, unaware that Mavor's interest in the plight of the Doukhobors had already been aroused, and that he had suggested independently to Clifford Sifton, the energetic Minister of the Interior, that the Doukhobors might well fit into his plans for the settlement of the North West Territories. At the same time Mavor had written to Lev Tolstoy, and in the correspondence that followed Tolstoy had assured him that the Doukhobors were excellent farmers. When Mavor asked about the Doukhobor attitude to education Tolstoy - rather rashly as it turned out - expressed the view that the Doukhobors would send their children to school, provided the children would not be obliged to receive religious training.

Meanwhile, without waiting for an answer to Kropotkin's letter to Mavor, the Doukhobor delegates had set sail for Canada on the *Vancouver* on September 1. At this point two further members of the Tolstoy circle became involved, for the Doukhobors were accompanied by Prince Khilkov, like Kropotkin a "conscience-stricken nobleman" who had given up his fortune and privileges to serve the cause of the people, and Aylmer Maude, the English carpet dealer who acquired fame as Tolstoy's leading translator into English. While his companions travelled steerage, Maude took a first-class cabin because he was susceptible to sea-sickness, "feeling much ashamed of myself for such un-Tolstoyan self-indulgence."

To the connections Mavor had already made with Sifton and his bureaucrats, and with other politicians, including the Prime Minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Maude added his own in the carpet trade, and through the merchant James Morgan he made contact with Thomas Shaughnessy, vice-president of the CPR, who offered favourable terms for transporting the Doukhobors if they came. Maude in fact turned out to be the most useful person on the delegation, keeping constant touch with Tolstoy and the

Tolstoyan Committee in England, and - in co-operation with Mavor - mediating between the Canadian authorities and the Doukhobor delegates who spoke no English and who became suspicious of their non-Doukhobor companions, actually accusing them of "making money out of the Canadian government at the expense of the Doukhobors." Tolstoy tried to soothe the ruffled feelings of Khilkov and Maude by remarking: "All descriptions of Doukhobors... are so idealistic that they become unbelievable, and therefore such incidents only lend reality to the picture."

Despite such discouragement, Maude went on a tour of the United States to raise interest, and gained some support from the American novelist William Dean Howells and, more importantly, from the American Quakers. Meanwhile Mavor had been working hard in the corridors of the Parliament buildings in Ottawa, and when Maude returned to Canada agreement was reached by October 1898 on the terms on which the Doukhobors would be admitted to Canada and granted land there.

The Canadian government wired the committee at Purleigh on the 27th October that everything was clear for the arrival of the first contingent of Doukhobors, and immediately the *S.S. Lake Huron* was chartered to take the first shipload from Batum to Halifax. It left Batum on the 23 December 1898 (Old Style) and stopped in Halifax on the 20th January 1899, before proceeding to Lawlor's Island for official quarantine inspection; it arrived 23rd January in St. John, New Brunswick for transport by train to the West. Here, too, there was an anarchist connection, though Kropotkin was not aware of it. The small group of Russian intellectuals who volunteered to sail with the Doukhobors and help them settle included not only Tolstoy's son Sergei and the young writer, actor and ladykiller Leopold Sulerzhitsky, but also the doctor Alexei Ilyich Bakunin, who was a nephew of the redoubtable Michael Bakunin, the leading theoretician of anarchism before the appearance of Kropotkin.

As for the part played by the two old friends, Mavor and Kropotkin, that is recorded very clearly by Aylmer Maude in his own account of the Doukhobors, in which he said that Mavor "had done more than anyone else" (Maude, 1904) to arouse Canadian interest in the plight of the Doukhobors, and that he had been instigated to this by Kropotkin, "another good friend of theirs." Kropotkin himself had very little to say about his role, though he did remark very modestly to his Swiss anarchist friend, James Cuillaume, that he had "helped them a little." Certainly his interest in the Doukhobors continued, and in 1902 he planned to go back to Canada in the summer to see how they were settling down in their new home. Ill-health prevented him from going, and by the time he had recovered events in Russia were attracting his attention as they built towards the revolution of 1905, and he never did cross the Atlantic again.

Mavor's interest in the Doukhobors and their settlement in Canada continued. He went to the prairies in 1899, shortly after the arrival of the *S.S. Lake Huron* on its second trip, to see how their settlements were progressing, and he returned on several later occasions. He maintained touch with the government departments that were concerned with them, and defended them against the efforts of Frank Oliver, the Minister of the Interior who had succeeded Clifford Sifton, to expel them from their prairie lands for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to King Edward VII. Unfortunately Mavor and the Doukhobors lost, and thousands of them, under Peter V. Verigin's leadership, went west to occupy lands in British Columbia, while their holdings in the prairies, into which they had put much work, were handed over to newcomers.

A large section of the archive in the Fisher Library consists of Mavor's reports and correspondence relating to the Doukhobors, ending only in 1924, the year before his death, and it shows how much this dedicated but almost forgotten friend of the Doukhobors not only contributed to bringing them to Canada, but also to their welfare once they got here. He might not have done it if he had not been the friend of Peter Kropotkin, who first recognized the appropriateness of Canada as a home for these persecuted people.

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LEOPOLD SULERZHITSKY AND THE VOYAGE OF THE DOUKHOBORS TO CANADA[****]

by
Tamara T. Burlakova

L. Sulerzhitsky's book, *V Ameriku s dukhoborami* [To America with the Doukhobors], was published in 1905 in Moscow by Posrednik Publishers, which had been established for the people by Lev Tolstoy and his friend Vladimir Chertkov. A copy of that book bearing the modest inscription, "To my dearest Lev Nikolaevich from the author", can be found in Tolstoy's personal library in the country estate-museum, Yasnaya Polyana, in Tula, Russia.

The author of the book, Leopold Antonovich Sulerzhitsky, was a brilliant stage-producer who worked for the Moscow Art Theatre. He was instrumental, together with Konstantin S. Stanislavsky, in putting together the amazing collaboration of talented actors known as the "First Studio of the Art Theatre", out of which more than one generation of marvellous Russian actors emerged. His very name is draped in legend, and his biography is striking by the great variety of events and the romanticism it contains.

Leopold Sulerzhitsky was born in the city of Zhitomir on the 15th of November 1872 to the family of Anton Sulerzhitsky, a petty bourgeois, a Catholic, and a native of Poland. The family moved to Kiev where his father opened a book-binding shop which became the best in the city. The child grew up surrounded by rare books, dictionaries and journals. Fate lavishly bestowed all sorts of talents upon Leopold. At a later time K. Stanislavsky would write the following about him: "What a lucky man! All the muses must have kissed him at birth!" (Sulerzhitsky 1970:547). He was extremely musical by nature. In high school he fell in love with theatre, opera and drawing. In 1885 he withdrew from high school before completing it to enrol in the Kiev Murashko School of Drawing. After a few years, however, he gave up his studies and became an assistant to Vasnetsov, a prominent artist who at that time was working together with Nesterov and Vrubel on murals for the famous Vladimir Monastery in Kiev.

It is not known when exactly Sulerzhitsky first became acquainted with the teachings of Lev. N. Tolstoy. It is not out of the question, however, that he first became aware of them right in his own father's shop, which was often frequented by representatives of the Kiev intelligentsia.

[****] Translated from Russian.

In 1889 Sulerzhitsky left Kiev quite unexpectedly for a village by the Dnieper river. While he was there, in his spare time, he worked the land with the peasants and taught their children how to read and write. What drew him there? Was it Tolstoy's ideas and love for the land which he carried with him throughout his entire life, the "migratory spirit" so characteristic of romantic natures like himself, or was it the burning desire to do good that Sulerzhitsky possessed so fully? It is unlikely that one can provide a simple answer to this question. Unfortunately the story of Sulerzhitsky's life is full of "blank spots": he did not really care to speak or write about himself at all. And it is only thanks to the reminiscences of those who knew him closely that we have become aware of his unique personality.

In 1890, after successfully passing the difficult entrance exams, Sulerzhitsky became a student of the Moscow School of Art, Sculpture and Architecture. Sulerzhitsky, who was so talented, so in love with life, and never failing to make his friends laugh at his jokes, merry stories and songs, quickly became the life and soul of the School. Tolstoy's daughter, Tatiana Lvovna, was a classmate of Sulerzhitsky's. They soon entered into a warm, friendly relationship and soon after, "Suler", as his friends used to call him, made his first appearance at the Tolstoys' home. Tatiana Lvovna had the following to say about Sulerzhitsky in her memoirs: "He was engrossed in reading the religious and philosophical works of my father, and would closely follow the conversations my father had with the numerous guests who frequented our home. Soon he came to share my father's views and convictions very closely" (Sulerzhitsky 1970:522).

His contemporaries have drawn our attention to the extreme interest, adoration and tenderness Tolstoy displayed towards Sulerzhitsky. "My dear Suler", "Levushka" was always a welcome guest at the Tolstoys'. In his essay "Lev Tolstoy", Maksim Gorkii noted that the writer "tenderly loved" Sulerzhitsky and invariably spoke of him with youthful passion and admiration" (Gorkii:125).

Whenever he appeared at the Tolstoys', either in their Moscow residence or at Yasnaya Polyana, Sulerzhitsky was always witty and in high spirits. A talented impersonator, he would tell funny stories imitating animals, birds and even objects. He had a marvellous voice and took great pleasure in singing folksongs or in performing parodies on classical operas. "Wherever Suler was - life, laughter and lively debate were there as well. He used to tell stories, draw sketches and dance, all with such taste and artistry that his enthusiasm would actually become contagious. He was never an imposition but rather everyone's favourite" (Sulerzhitsky 1970:28), recalled E.E. Gorbunova-Posadova, the wife of I.I. Gorbunov-Posadov, the editor at Posrednik and a follower of Tolstoy.

It was this unique joy of life that Tolstoy was able to sense and appreciate and which drew him and Sulerzhitsky together. In addition to this, it was his friend's kindness and unusual spiritual purity which won Tolstoy's heart as well. At one point the latter confessed that Leopold was the most honest person he had ever met. In addition, Leopold Antonovich was also a business-like and energetic person who knew how to work. He was also resolute and strong-willed, yet at the same time was always ready to give a helping hand to anyone who needed it. And so his involvement in the relocation of the Doukhobors was hardly accidental. By that time new pages had been written in his life story: far behind remained the School of Drawing from which he was expelled in 1894, the military service in Central Asia, his service as a sailor on the ship St. Nikolai, and the distant voyages. After all of this he moved to Alushta in the Crimea, where he worked as a water carrier in the port and then as a gardener in the house of E.N. Vulf, a follower of Tolstoy. It was here that the news of the relocation which was being planned reached him.

On the 4th of July 1898, he wrote Tolstoy: "Dear Lev Nikolaevich, I have learned that the Doukhobors are relocating and that soon the first ship will sail from the Port of Batumi. This makes me feel as if my own brother were moving out of the room that we share together. Therefore I cannot live my life as before, ignoring his departure, especially in view of the fact that the circumstances surrounding the event are so harsh... I would be so happy if you could only somehow help me to stay amongst them and subsequently accompany them on their ship to their destination, if such a person be needed there. I believe that I could be of some use to them ... I do have some command (although poor) of the English language, and I am familiar with the sea and with port life. I know the cost of foodstuffs and, what is of paramount importance, I feel that my conscience and my entire being demand that I should be with them and help them if they are in need of me, for I am very worried knowing that they are about to leave" (Sulerzhitsky 1970:387-388).

In his reply dated the 13th of July 1898, Tolstoy informed Leopold Antonovich of the following: "Dear Suler!... I would be very happy if you would accompany the Doukhobors. I believe that you could be of use to them. I have written to them about you" (Tolstoy 1953:404). Soon afterwards Sulerzhitsky's proposal was accepted. And so he was to become involved in the relocation of a group of Doukhobors from the Caucasus. He was entrusted with the task of making general arrangements and was put in charge of supervising the relocation and the initial settlement in Canada.

Sulerzhitsky put forth an inexpensive yet opportune plan: to hire a regular cargo ship without the typical accommodations for passengers and without a crew, with the exception of a minimal number of personnel on board. These would make the ship suitable for carrying passengers and constitute a crew comprised of young Doukhobors. Soon they found the appropriate ships in Liverpool: the *S.S. Lake Huron* and the *S.S. Lake Superior*. A contract was signed, pursuant to which the first ship was to be leased by Sulerzhitsky and the second one by Tolstoy's son, Sergei Lvovich. Sulerzhitsky provided a detailed account of how the voyage was made in his book, *To America With the Doukhobors*. The circumstances surrounding the creation of this book are not devoid of tragic moments.

The book grew out of a diary that Sulerzhitsky kept while on board the *S.S. Lake Huron* as well as while he was on Canadian soil. His work on the entries for the diary commenced only after he had returned from Canada, and not even immediately after that. On the 25th of February 1902, he wrote to his wife: "...I am presently very busy with the Doukhobors and am now beginning to think that possibly I will be able to write something interesting" (Sulerzhitsky 1970:407). In March of 1902 Sulerzhitsky was involved in negotiating the publication of his book with Pyatnisky, the editor of *Znanie*. The outcome of the negotiations proved favourable and he rushed to complete his work on the book as soon as possible. A year later M. Gorkii familiarized himself with the manuscript and found it beyond praise. The book was finally completed and ready to go to print. However, at this point something unpredictable occurred: the journal *Obrazovanie* had already undertaken to run V.D. Bonch-Bruevich's feature articles, "The Doukhobors in the Canadian Prairies", in five issues in 1903. And since Bonch-Bruevich had also been an active participant in the relocation of the Doukhobors it was only natural that the notes kept by him and those by Sulerzhitsky would have a great deal in common. It was clear to both Sulerzhitsky and Gorkii that the material could not possibly be published in the format of an independent book. Two years later, however, the book was nevertheless published by Posrednik Publishers with a preface by the author. The book consisted of an introduction and fourteen chapters, and gave a detailed account of the Doukhobors' relocation to Canada, summing up the results of their first and most difficult year on Canadian soil. Notwithstanding the extensive bibliography dedicated to this topic, Sulerzhitsky's book is undoubtedly a valuable piece of work. His was an absolutely independent and unique project, representing a chronograph of the relocation. On the one hand, the work is a diary, a free-flowing chronicle of everyday events with the somewhat dry lines characteristic of expenditure estimates incorporated into it. On the other hand, it is a unique work by an artist. The most fascinating chapters are those pertaining to the Doukhobors' stay in Batumi, as well as those describing the voyage and the first days of their arrival in Canada.

His subtle nature as an artist and his talent for depicting life helped Sulerzhitsky write the book. The reader finds himself face to face with a series of amazing pictures unfolding right before his very eyes and conveying the story of the relocation of thousands of people who had constantly been driven away and persecuted. In Batumi someone named Richter suggested that the Doukhobors temporarily move into the storehouses of his kerosine plant which was not in operation at the time. Sulerzhitsky succeeded in accommodating all the 2140 Doukhobors there who had arrived in Batumi from the Caucasus in two separate trains. They waited there two weeks for their ship to arrive. At last, on the 6th of December, at dawn, the exhausted people heard the short, uncertain sound of a horn in the fog. And a few hours later the *S.S. Huron* entered the harbour and stopped near the plant.

For three days in a row, under the guidance of Leopold Antonovich, the Doukhobors were kept busy building the plank-beds. Finally the ship had been washed and readied for boarding, and on the night of December 9 the boarding began in accordance with a plan which had been proposed by the "old timers." And at last, on the 10th of December, absolutely everything was ready for embarkation. The author paints the picture of the farewell to the Homeland with the special dramatic pathos, the power and the talent of the future stage-producer.

> ... the gang-planks were removed - and the last links connecting us with the mainland were taken away along with them... The Doukhobors began to sing a psalm. Melancholy, long, drawn-out sounds filled with inconsolable nostalgia flew off all the way back to the quickly receding shoreline. Thousands of voices merged now to produce a singe outcry of despair, bitterness and resentment. Not only the people, but even, it seemed, nature grew still, shattered by the soul-searing sobbing of this group of a thousand people lamenting over their separation from their Motherland. With their heads bared, and with tears and grief in their eyes, the Doukhobors stood sad and solemn, facing the land on which they had grown up, and

> on which their grandparents and great-grandparents had lived and died, and in which their leaders were buried, a land where they had had to undergo so much suffering and bear so many precious losses... Meanwhile the shoreline kept on receding further and further, just as life itself recedes, and there was nothing one could do to bring it back... One could sense that something unheard of in its cruelty, something irrevocable was taking place... (Sulerzhitsky 1905:44).

The imagination of the author was unleashed with particular force and vividness in the scenes depicting the hardships of the sea voyage, including the slowness and lack of experience on the part of the crew, the incidents of sea sickness which struck the majority of the Doukhobors, as well as the very first serious illnesses and eventual deaths on board the ship. The first to die was a five-year old boy who succumbed to gangrenous stomatitis. The pages dedicated to this tragic incident were written by a deeply concerned and by no means indifferent human being: "All was quiet on the deck: the entire ship had sunk into a deep sleep. The engine sighed uniformly, as if moaning, while alongside the carefully quivering ship the level sea ran on with a light, barely audible lapping, with its silvery scales glittering and dancing in the rays of this tranquil and troubled place. And looking at this marvellous and completely stable picture it was somehow impossible to believe that at that very moment a young human body was fighting hopelessly against death, which spares no-one regardless of age or position" (Sulerzhitsky 1905:56).

The most difficult ordeal endured by the travellers was a storm which was depicted by the author with a talent comparable only to that of a sea-scape painter. The storm in question, which lasted a number of days, caused a state of despair and inconsolability, new illnesses and deaths.

A rumour that the ship "had gone astray and was now blindly forcing its way through the most turbulent spots in the sea-ocean" spread amongst the Doukhobors (Sulerzhitsky 1905:82). And it was only with the help of influential old timers that it became possible to settle the matter and persuade everyone concerned that the ship was on the right course and that there was no need to lose spirit, for this was not worthy of true Christians. On the 9th of January the wind began to abate and the storm subsided. Little by little the pale, exhausted and emaciated people regained their strength and returned to life. Finally, on the 20th of January 1899 [new calendar - twelve days later than old style], after thirty-two days of travel, the ship dropped anchor in Halifax harbour.

> The crowd stood in deep silence, with strained attention, thoughtfully looking at the new land that they had been waiting for so long and so avidly. The ocean with all its fears had long been forgotten like a terrible nightmare, as if it had never happened altogether. Ahead lay a new land, a new life and -- who knows? -- perhaps new sufferings as well. And on the serious and stern faces of that silent crowd of people who had been tempered by the hard battles of life, a crowd living a single life, breathing with a single breath, thinking a single thought, one could read the following: "Well, so what! Even if that's what is in store for us, we are ready to face you" (Sulerzhitsky 1905:95).

However, this is already a new page in the lives of the Doukhobors, in the life of Leopold Sulerzhitsky himself and in his book.

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THE QUAKER - DOUKHOBOR CONNECTION

by
David C. Elkinton

An Appeal for Help

> A terrible cruelty is now being perpetrated in the Caucasus. More than four thousand people are suffering and dying from hunger, disease, exhaustion, blows, tortures and other persecutions at the hands of the Russian Authorities. These suffering people are the Doukhobors (or *Spirit-Wrestlers*)....They suffer persecution because their religious convictions do not allow them to fulfil those demands of the state which are connected directly, or indirectly with killing of, or violence to, their fellow-men.[1]

Commissioned by Lev Tolstoy, after a two month study by his friend Pavel Biryukov, this Appeal was issued in England in Russian (1896) and English (1897). The Society of Friends (Quakers) in England petitioned the Tsar directly on behalf of the Doukhobors. These and other appeals were successful and permission was granted for them to leave Russia. Many possibilities were discussed, but most faded away, leaving only two choices: Cyprus and Canada.

While English Friends were helping some Doukhobors get to Cyprus, several of their friends solicited help over here: Prince Khilkov, a pacifist nobleman, who had lived among the Doukhobors, and Aylmer Maude, an English business man who had lived many years in Moscow. Both lived with Tolstoy's friends in exile.

Prince Khilkov and two associates negotiated in Canada for land for possible settlements, while Maude went to Ottawa, then to the United States to raise funds. His meeting with the Philadelphia Quakers was especially fruitful, for it was his contact with Joseph S. Elkinton which stimulated American interest in the Doukhobor cause.[2] An anecdote told by J. Passmore Elkinton, grandson of Joseph S. Elkinton, illustrates the latter's involvement in these negotiations:

> Many years later, I talked to a Quaker lady at Friends Meeting in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, who told me that she had been a guest at the Chalfont Hotel in Atlantic City, the weekend that the Premier of all Canada, Sir Wilfred Laurier, came down and made a bargain with my grandfather and his colleague, Mrs. Eliza Varney, both of them in Quaker costume, of the terms under which the Dominion of Canada

> would send ships for the Doukhobors and locate them on free land in the western provinces with the specific stipulation that Canada would never require military service.[3]

Cyprus

Led by energetic John Bellows, the Doukhobor Committee of London Meeting for Sufferings purchased land in Cyprus to which 1,126 Doukhobors emigrated from the Black Sea ports. They arrived in August, 1898. To help them, a British Friend, Wilson Sturge, formerly Vice-Consul at Poti, on the Black Sea, spent the winter with them.

Life was very difficult on Cyprus. There were many needs... food, clothing, implements, seed, nurses and drugs. Wells and cisterns were in good repair, but they had to live in tents while building their own mud-brick houses. In a trying climate, many suffered dysentery and malaria. During the next eight months, 105 Doukhobors died and so did Wilson Sturge.

Welcome

Two ships were chartered to carry Doukhobors from Cyprus to Canada. English Friends cabled the Doukhobor Committee in Philadelphia asking them to please go to Halifax to meet them. It was the middle of winter, January 1899. But Joseph S. Elkinton took the train and was joined in Boston by Job Gidley. Joseph recorded the arrival in Halifax of the *S.S. Lake Huron* on 21 January, 1899:

> It was a wonderful sight...all joined in the subdued but melodious and distinct tone in chanting words. It was a very affecting scene and the spirit of thanksgiving and prayer covered my mind....I felt that if I ever heard the voice of thanksgiving and melody from human lips, I did on that notable occasion. Job Gidley broke forth with the salutation in a clear strong voice: Welcome Doukhobors!

Also greeting the new arrivals was Prince Khilkov. *The Halifax Herald* reported that he was impetuously kissed by the Doukhobors. This exhibition of exuberance of joy lasted but a few moments, for their heads were uncovered and the voice of J.S. Elkinton was heard in prayer giving thanks for the continued mercies in earnest tones. The psalm singing ceased when the prayer began to ascend to the Throne of Grace.

Early Contacts

Quaker contacts with Russia went back to Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia (1682-1725). Later, Tsar Alexander I (1801-1825) had counted English Quakers, William Allen and Stephen Grellet, among his friends. He called Daniel Wheeler and a party of English Quaker farmers to drain and cultivate the Petersburg marshes. Quaker connections continued as Friends helped with famine relief in Russia in 1891-93 and had contact with Lev Tolstoy. Also, John Bellows, a Quaker printer of England, and Joseph Neave, an English Friend living in Australia, visited Doukhobors in southern Russia in 1892, concerned to contact dissidents from the Orthodox Church.

Quarantine

The ships did arrive as promised, but any smallpox cases found on board meant a three week delay. One week after the *S.S. Lake Huron's* arrival, described above, the *S.S. Lake Superior* came, but was quarantined. So Joseph S. Elkinton went home to Philadelphia, returning by train through heavy snowstorms in February, 1899 to meet this boat at Halifax.

However, in the Spring, both ships returned: the S.S. *Lake Superior*, with the Doukhobors from Cyprus aboard, landed in May and they were soon on the trains to Saskatchewan. But when the *S.S. Lake Huron* arrived in June, another three week quarantine was declared.

Visiting Villages

Taking advantage of this interim, Joseph S. Elkinton, accompanied by William Evans, went by train to Winnipeg and on to Yorkton, Saskatchewan, where a large crowd awaited them. Prince Khilkov and the two Philadelphia Quakers started out the next morning "with an outfit complete for five days' journey." Joseph S. Elkinton's journal recounts some of the hazards of prairie travel:

> We started off this A.M. with two teams, one a light-running wagon. Prince Khilkov and the driver in front and William Evans and myself in back seat. The second containing our baggage, tent, robes, and provisions for man and beast. Mercury about 55 degrees. The mosquitoes appeared before we pitched our tent for the night and were innumerable. We tied our heads up, but even then our faces and necks were swollen.
>
> We rode along cheerfully until we came to a broken-down bridge... in trying to get our wagon out of a slough, I was thrown over into it... we came to another broken bridge, which we crossed, and to our great joy, we saw a house up on the bank... were kindly received and informed we were six miles from the nearest Doukhobor village. We

> camped for the night [and the next day we] reached the Verigin settlement. Whilst the Prince was engaged with the business men I found a small boy who could speak a little English, and we visited the tents... endeavouring to give sympathy and comfort to the afflicted and holding many precious religious opportunities in the homes and collectively. We visited the sick and made donations to the particularly needy or suffering cases. Many little tokens of workmanship were presented to me....We spent five days among the settlements and are safely back in Yorkton.

Joseph S. Elkinton returned home, where he stayed about three months. A final trip for 1899 of about seven weeks in November and December took him again to Saskatchewan, with William B. Harvey. "The children all call me 'Grandfather' and at the sight of me run around and call other children to come... In the gathering for the religious service, the house was packed, children peeping out from every corner. I had the question asked if the children recognized me; one little girl answered 'quarantine'."

Two Trips - 1900

A five-day trip in April to Ottawa to learn from officials "how the Doukhobors had stood the winter...mostly satisfactory." Back in Saskatchewan that summer, Joseph S. Elkinton and his friend Jonathan E. Rhoads rode thirty miles over the prairie to Terpenie, where they met "Grandmother Nastasia Verigin, who has six sons in exile in Siberia and one died on his way here. Her son Peter seems to be the most notable among the exiles. She is 84 years old and clear and bright in her intellect."

Lost at Night

Joseph S. Elkinton's last trip was for three months in the spring of 1902, mostly visiting the Doukhobors in their villages, with Dillwyn Stratton as his companion. They carried an Address from the Doukhobor Committee in Philadelphia, encouraging them to comply with the laws of the Canadian Government in regard to taking up homesteads and registering their marriages, births and deaths.

While in the Saskatoon District, he and Hugh Harley, the agent, got lost at night on the prairie in the rain... "We could see neither trail nor horses... my companion tramped around to feel the ground; when he thought it safe, he would call the driver to follow... My matchbox was in demand with a lighted paper, but as it was raining there was a limit to that convenience... Two or three miles further, we stopped at the second house and when we were inside, we recognized it as the one we left at 5 o'clock... It was now by my watch 1:12 A.M. When I awoke in the morning, I found the occupants of the room consisted of four men, three women, two children, a cat and a dog."

Walking the Plank

Another Canadian adventure was in crossing the Saskatchewan River, which had risen 25 feet above average and had washed away one bank. The train was emptied and they had to walk 1300 feet over the ties - "no inviting walk with the rushing waters beneath." We found that a plank about a foot wide had been laid over the ties, which was very helpful as far as it went; but it was evident that all confidence was not placed in the 'old gentleman,' as he was called and he was told several times to look up, but he was not going to look up; it was neither the stars overhead, nor the rushing waters underneath that he wished to see, but where his feet went... When we were at the end of the bridge work, the plank stopped... the 'old gentleman' was escorted over the remaining ties; when we felt we were on solid ground, all three of us must rest a while, but the mosquitoes were so troublesome we had to keep moving."[4]

Plea for Education

While his father was helping the Doukhobors get settled on the prairies, back in Philadelphia, Joseph "did his share": he helped pack carloads of food and started a vigorous campaign to raise funds for the education of Doukhobor children. The Yearly Meeting of the Doukhobor Committee brought Helen Moreland and Hannah Bellows from England to teach these children. Due to opposition, this project did not last. But Joseph Elkinton would not be discouraged. He got consent to bring some Doukhobor children to the U.S.A. for education. He went to Toronto, also in 1902, where he met the group. Some went to be with Quaker families in New York State, but Joseph brought Vasili Veraschagin and his wife Dunia with their children and three other little boys to Philadelphia. Eric Sherbinin came as interpreter.

> The arrival of the group was really spectacular and to be the escort of such a picturesque and interesting party was an experience Joseph enjoyed to the full. Dunia and Anna were dressed in their native costume - a full grey skirt, long embroidered apron, simple blouse topped by a short sleeveless zouave jacket and on their heads the peculiar close-fitting woman's cap with a rosette in front.
>
> Upon reaching Philadelphia, their guide took them promptly to the Aimwell and Friends Select Schools. The children had heard often of the Doukhobors and now they were here. To the children they sang their plaintive songs, which might well have been 'How can we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?'

> No peasant travels without great bundles of feather beds and what not. Only the imminent starting of the train compelled the baggage master to accept their luggage. When the troupe came down the street to the Elkinton house [in Media, near Philadelphia], it was not difficult for the hostess to give them a smiling reception.
>
> The Veraschagin parents and their 17 year-old Anna spent the winter with the Elkinton family... while her brothers and the other boys were placed with nearby families. All six children were added to the one-room Media Friends School to learn English. The Veraschagin family returned to Canada the next Spring, but the three other boys stayed on another year. The youngest, Peter Popoff, later changed to Makaroff, stayed three years, then returned to complete his education. He became the first Doukhobor to receive a college degree and the first non-Anglo-Saxon to graduate from the Law School of the University of Saskatchewan.[5]

In 1903, Joseph Elkinton published a book, *The Doukhobors, Their History in Russia, Their Migration to Canada.* He offered the royalties to the Doukhobors to help them finance schools for their children. But this was also declined, as they did not then see the value of schools.

Petrofka School

Friends in Philadelphia made another approach to making schooling available to Doukhobor children in Saskatchewan. William B. Harvey and John Way, were named trustees for the Doukhobor Education Fund, Petrofka District (near Saskatoon, Saskatchewan). They purchased a "ready-made school", which was shipped from nearby Rosthern. Title was issued 13 July, 1909.

When the school opened in September that year, 19 pupils attended. By November, when the harvest was in, there were 49. Benjamin W. Wood was the teacher. By 1910 there were 62 and 50 in 1911. But due to the establishment of Provincial grade schools, this Petrofka School was sold after only three years.[6,7]

In 1918 Joseph Elkinton and Walter Smedley visited the Doukhobors in Canada... This was Joseph's last visit to see them and to plead with Peter V. Verigin for the education of their children. He died in London, England in 1920.

A half-century later, I went to Verigin, Saskatchewan, to attend the 70th Anniversary of the arrival of the Doukhobors in Canada. There I met Peter G. Makaroff and heard him tell the young people that two generations of Doukhobors had been denied education. But happily, many are now going to university and overcoming this lack.[8]

Doukhobors and the Peace Ideal

Howard W. Elkinton, younger son of Joseph and grandson of Joseph S., visited the Saskatchewan Doukhobors with his wife Kitty in 1924. In the summer of 1945, he returned and reported on the status of the peace testimony of Doukhobors, Quakers and other religious groups. A few excerpts give the flavour of his perceptive analysis (in paraphrased and quoted passages):

> Anyone interested in the maintaining of ideals and principles of faith will find the study of the Doukhobor experiences in Western Canada an excellent field of observation. The Doukhobors have come a long way from their former home in the Caucasus... Their devotion to peace and the pacifist Christian ethic is remarkably secure. Their attitude today is very similar to the basic attitude of Friends... My recent visit to Canada was prompted by a desire to express again the fraternity of a shared religious fellowship and to determine how successful the Doukhobors have been in maintaining their peace witness.
>
> What is the fate of a peace conviction after half a century of wheat-land living in Saskatchewan? How is the peace testimony preserved in a tightly knit community such as one finds in the Kootenay valleys in Southeastern British Columbia? If conscription should settle on the United States as a peacetime military service we, who hold the pacific Christian ethic as a *sine qua non* of Quakerism, would be in much the same position as the Doukhobors in the Caucasus under the Tsar.
>
> How has the pacifist ideal fared at the hands of the Doukhobors? Today they have the best record of all the so-called historic Peace Churches. The Mennonites in America are credited with sixty per cent pacifist witness... The Brethren register at around forty men in each hundred as 4-E [C. O.s]. Ninety-five per cent of the eligible young men in the Doukhobor communities have declined war service. A few are still in prison for conscience' sake. Less than one hundred out of a total Doukhobor population of two thousand draft-age young men are or have been in the Canadian armed forces...
>
> Canada has changed, or has at least regretted, the broad exemption granted the Doukhobors, but the *Spirit Wrestlers* (Doukhobors) of the seventeen century have not changed much in their devotion to Christ whose servants do not fight.
>
> To understand the present, one must follow some of the difficulties that assailed the Doukhobors upon their settlement on the Canadian steppes. They transferred their language, their Russian peasant village patterns, their habit of communal living and their practice of communal ownership. These institutions and patterns had to be altered to meet the growth of Canada. They are inevitable changes that are consequent to migration to any new land.
>
> I have in my ear the plaintive, nostalgic song which they sing which describes the beauties of the Caucasus, the apple trees laden with the bursting blossoms of spring, the beehives under the trees, the sweeping meadows--in short the beautiful country they left behind. The song was written by a Canadian Doukhobor and is sung with a sweet relish when conditions of life harass them. The sum total of adjustments were far from easy. Today, however, a second generation of Canadian-born Doukhobors give promise of an intelligent understanding of traditional testimonies including the testimony of peace...
>
> The most vivid group of Doukhobors are a relatively small group who live in a high stumpland valley in British Columbia. They are known as the Sons of Freedom. They number about 1,000 in a total Doukhobor British Columbia population of 15,000. It is here that one comes upon the most lively, almost fanatical devotion to non-violence and war. Unfortunately,

> the Sons and Daughters of Freedom demonstrate through their other negative testimonies how far negativism can go. Their aggressive use of nudism is very trying for the Canadians and their fellow Doukhobors. Their disinclination to pay taxes or rent is difficult. These two acts are believed to be concessions to private property, an institution which they hold is the cause of war. Their denial of education troubles Friends most. The Sons and Daughters of Freedom claim that monogamy is an expression of private property, an institution which denies the fellowship of Christ. It is their peace testimony, however, which is ardent, uncompromising and very vocal. Maybe the greatest credit for the maintained pacifist conviction lies in the rhythm practised by most Doukhobors. Many of them are still an agricultural people. Like the Mennonites they hold that the rotation of the seasons and the harvests are expressions of God. It is in this engagement in God's plan that man can find peace in his heart. Peace toward nature and toward his fellows. Where this basic rhythm has been altered by small-town living, by suburbia, by wanderings astray, the social and religious ideals tend to fade.
>
> It looks as if the Mennonites, Hutterites and the Doukhobors still have a key to this problem of living - and to peace... It was good to find the Doukhobors after half a century in America so clear in their inner sense that war is wrong and that faithful Christians are followers of the Prince of Peace.[9]

Intervisitation

Joseph Passmore Elkinton, elder son of Joseph, recorded his trips to visit the Doukhobors in Canada:

1921 - Took son, now Dr. J. Russell Elkinton, then age 11, to visit Peter G. Makaroff in Saskatoon, Sask.
1927 - With son David, age 12, visited Brilliant, and Grand Forks, B.C. and many homes in Blaine Lake, Langham and Yorkton, Saskatchewan.

1928 - Went alone on "this circuit".
1940 - Took niece Polly Griscom.
1949 - With wife Anna, by car, visited Saskatoon, Blaine Lake, Sask.
1951 - Met with B.C. Government Commission on Doukhobor Problems.[10]

Passmore Elkinton combined vacation time with business trips to the West Coast for Philadelphia Quartz Company, of which he was a Director and Vice President. He held a similar position with the Philadelphia Quartz Co. of California.

My father's report of our visit to Brilliant in 1927 included these comments:

> Our host, Joseph Shukin, second Vice President of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, Ltd... and Director in charge

> at the Brilliant settlement, joined us at breakfast. "Grandmother" Verigin came in soon after. Evdokia Vergina, is the widow of the late Peter Verigin... To us for three days, she proved a mother indeed. Long shall we remember her vigorous step, as clad in simple blue, with her head scarf of darker hue, she preceded us each day, taking the head of the aisle between men and women at the different meetings.
>
> Two miles to the meeting house we drove with "Grandmother" (after supper our first evening at Brilliant), through fields and orchards. Could the edifice have been more Quakerly? A plain white meeting house, perhaps thirty by sixty feet in size; a porch on two sides. No benches! Here the Doukhobors stand for worship and business, sometimes as long as ten hours in a day we are told![11]

My own recollections as a 12 year-old boy, include standing in these long meetings; waiting for the translation into English; watching the endless cans being filled in the huge Jam Factory, and my first very hot steam bath.

Peter G. Makaroff

In addition to Peter Makaroff's leading role in Doukhobor affairs, his early education at this Quaker school also led to his friendship with various members of the Elkinton family: brothers Passmore and Howard Elkinton visited the Makaroff family whenever they went to Saskatoon. Howard's son Peter stayed with them while studying at the University of Saskatchewan. Having lived in British Columbia for twenty-five years, Howard had attended several Doukhobor events in that province.

When I attended the 70th Anniversary celebration of the Doukhobors arrival, held in Kamsack, Saskatchewan, in 1969, Peter Makaroff introduced me to Koozma J. Tarasoff, whose book, *A Pictorial History of the Doukhobors*, had just been issued. Later, Koozma gave us many introductions to British Columbia and California Doukhobors, most of whom we met on a long trip west in 1983. We have also visited him in Ottawa and he stayed with us when he attended Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and visited Media-Providence Friends School (where Peter Makaroff studied). Koozma gave the second Mary B. Elkinton Lecture there in 1990, entitled "From Confrontation to Cooperation; East-West Bridge-Building," with comments on the Doukhobor-Quaker relationship. Thus, for over ninety years, this school has strengthened many Quaker-Doukhobor connections.

Other Contacts

American Friends who have visited among the Doukhobors include the following:

1929 - Theodore and Estella Foxworthy
1944 - Philip and Eleanor Mayer
1949 - Passmore and Anna Elkinton
1949 - Leslie D. Schaffer, Gen. Secretary of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, Philadelphia, spoke at the Doukhobor Jubilee in Saskatchewan, July 26-27,1949.
1951 - J.P.Elkinton visited Emmett and Zoe Gulley in B.C.
1958 - Anna Cox Brinton and Barbara Bachovzeff, visited the Doukhobor zealot women in prison in the New Denver Dormitory, in B.C.

A.F.S.C. and the Sons of Freedom

The following is a personal account[12] by Stephen G. Cary, Chairperson (retired) of the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania:

As a service agency of Friends in the United States, the American Friends Service Committee (A.F.S.C.) had long known of the ties between Canada's Doukhobors and the Society of Friends (Quakers), but the Committee did not become actively involved in their affairs until 1950, at a time when relations between the Canadian government and the dissident Sons of Freedom Doukhobors had reached a crisis stage.

The Sons had for some years been harassing mainstream Doukhobor communities, whom they saw as straying from their simple lifestyle of earlier years and conforming too much to a war-making society. Their anti-social behaviour had led to the Sons banishment to isolated mountain villages like Krestova, British Columbia, where they lived in shacks, squalid and unpainted as a testimony to their doctrine of simplicity, and subject to being burned if improved.

By 1950, under the influence of an itinerant Baptist preacher [Stephen S. Sorokin] whom many Sons regarded as the reborn Christ, and who encouraged their view of Canadian society as evil and war-making, the Sons had broadened their protests to include the burning of churches, the dynamiting of power pylons and railroad trains, and... parading nude through British Columbian towns.

All of this behaviour was fuelled by misplaced religious fervour - twisted perceptions of simplicity, purity, and responsibility. The Sons even rationalized their violence as conforming to traditional Doukhobor pacifism by warning occupants to leave buildings before they were burned and holding religious services after setting dynamite charges to pray that no one would be injured when the explosions took place.

It was this religious grounding of lawless behaviour that led to the involvement of the American Friends Service Committee in the crisis. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, frustrated that jailing offenders, only stimulated others to aspire to martyrdom, concluded that because the problem was rooted in religious fanaticism it was not amenable to normal police treatment and needed a different approach. This judgement resulted in their sending Colonel Frank Mead, a ranking R.C.M.P. official, and an extraordinarily perceptive and able officer, to Philadelphia to ask for the assistance of the Service Committee, on the grounds that Quakers, with their long record of loving concern for the Doukhobor people were the only outsiders the Sons respected, and who therefore might be able to reach them.

In response to Colonel Mead's visit, the A.F.S.C. sent Emmett Gulley, a Friend from Oregon, to investigate, and Emmett subsequently agreed to accept a mediating role with the aim of encouraging the Sons of Freedom to modify their behaviour. It was a daunting assignment. The Sons, reflecting the traditional response of fanatics, took the position that anyone who was not 100% with them was against them and was to be viewed with suspicion if not with open hostility.

Confronted with this mind-set, Gulley was never able in the four years of his service to win the Sons' confidence. Probably no one with the integrity of a balanced view could have done so, although in retrospect the Friends' emissary made some mistakes. He allowed himself to be too visibly identified with Canadian and law enforcement authorities, unnecessarily fuelling Sons' suspicion of Quaker neutrality, and he made too much of an issue of nudity. The practice so angered him that he walked out of any meeting where it occurred, thereby giving the Sons an easy way to rid themselves of his presence whenever they wanted to do so.

This is not to say that Gulley's labours to reconcile factions and reduce tensions were without benefit. He accomplished much that was helpful. He brought together diverse Doukhobor groups, the Canadian Council of Churches, the United Church of Canada, the R.C.M.P., Boards of Trade, and Canadian and American Friends. These efforts served the important purpose of increasing awareness among Canadians that the Sons of Freedom were a small minority within the Doukhobor community, whose behaviour should not be prejudicial to their law-abiding brethren. This distinction helped to ease the position of thousands of Doukhobors living in Saskatchewan and British Columbia as participating members of Canadian society.

Another of Emmett Gulley's contributions was his initiative, with Colonel Mead, in creating a national Commission [Doukhobor Research Committee], headed by Gordon McKenzie, president of the University of British Columbia, charged with examining Doukhobor history and the roots of the Sons of Freedom movement, and making recommendations for resolving the problems they raised. Gulley also figured prominently in the release of most of the Doukhobors imprisoned for arson and nudity, in the recognition by the government of Doukhobor marriages, and in the establishment of Doukhobor voting rights and land titles.

His service, and the efforts of the American Friends Service Committee to help, came to an end in 1955 in the wake of a decision by the B.C. Provincial Government to forcibly enroll Sons of Freedom children in school. Frustrated by the repeated refusal of the Sons to enroll their children even after major concessions in schooling requirements, the government sent police to Krestova and other isolated Sons' villages and in the dead of night seized children in their beds and sent hundreds of them north to New Denver. Here they were placed in an abandoned dormitory [where the Canadian government held Japanese in a concentration camp during World War II] which was converted into a boarding school, and the children held there and educated.

This drastic action predictably created an uproar among the Sons of Freedom, who in their fury and needing a villain, blamed Emmett Gulley for the kidnappings. He had been seen in the company of Canadian officials, and although he had nothing whatsoever to do with this decision, he made a convenient target. This turn of events brought an end to his usefulness as an intermediary, and the present writer was then sent by the A.F.S.C. to British Columbia to assess the situation.

After conferring with John J. Verigin in Grand Forks and visiting New Denver, I went to Krestova to meet with Sons' leaders. It was a lonely walk up to the barren plateau where the village was located, especially for a Quaker unsure of his reception. Initially, things went well because the Krestova elders, thinking I could arrange for their children's release, wanted to talk. Unfortunately, as we sat around a battered table, an angry mob of thirty naked women marched on the premises, thinking to drive me away. I responded with a wholly false pretense of indifference and was rescued by young men armed with staves and summoned by my hosts, who set upon the women and sent them off in all directions. This episode dampened the discussions, and all I could do was promise to intercede with the authorities in Ottawa to return their children.

I did intercede, but without success, and in the wake of that failure, and unwilling to continue its mediating efforts in the face of its opposition to government policy and the hostility of the Sons, the Service Committee decided to withdraw, ending five years of a further venture in Doukhobor-Quaker relations. The A.F.S.C. learned from its experience. It failed in its main mission, but it made many friends and contributed to easing tensions and lessening entrenched anger and alienation. Perhaps most important, it learned how difficult it is to work with those who are entirely certain of their grasp of truth.

Fortunately, others picked up the struggle, and the kindness of Canadians in offering hospitality and assistance to the Sons in a later protest trek to Vancouver, together with the passage of time, has served to further soften their attitudes. The Sons of Freedom continue to challenge perceived Canadian values, but in debate and not in violence, and in protest that is within the law... That should always be acceptable within a free society.

A list of Members of the *"Doukhobor Committee"*, dated 4/4/1945 shows a wide representation of American and Canadian Friends:

J. Passmore Elkinton	Moylan, PA
J. Bernard Walton	Philadelphia
George Bacon	Haddonfield, NJ
Howard & Kitty Elkinton	Germantown, Philadelphia
Dorothy Cutler MacIntyre	Ilderton, Ontario
Theodore & Estella Foxworthy	Portland, Indiana
William O. Mendenhall	Richmond, Indiana
Rebecca Timbres Clark	Milford, CT.
Stanley & Clare Van Every	Welland, Ontario
Philip E. Jacob	Lansdowne, PA.
Leslie Johnson	Toronto, Ontario
David C. Elkinton	Moylan, PA.
Walter Lench	B.C.[11]

Conclusion

Throughout the past century and more, these and other personal Quaker-Doukhobor connections have increased our mutual understanding of each others' beliefs and traditions and have encouraged us all to continue working toward peace at home and abroad.

Endnotes

1. Biryukov, Pavel Ivanovich. (1897). *Pomogite! Obrashchenie k obshchestvu po povodu gonenii na kavkazskikh dukhoborov* [Help! Appeal to Society Regarding Persecution of Doukhobors in the Caucasus]. Composed by P. Biryukov, I. Tregubov and V. Chertkov. Postscript by L.N. Tolstoy. London: Tchertkoff.

2.. Elkinton, David Cope. (1992). *Family Footprints, Vol. IV, The Lives, Ancestry and Descendants of Joseph Scotton Elkinton and Malinda Patterson Elkinton*. Newtown Square, Pa.: Privately published. Chap. 24, Doukhobors, p. 114.

3. Elkinton, J. Passmore. (1938-1966). *Memoirs*, Vol. I, Chap. 71, "The Doukhobor Story." Elkinton Family Papers at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

4. Elkinton, David C., op. cit.. p. 125.

5. Ibid, p. 165; quoting Sarah W. Elkinton's account of her husband bringing Doukhobors to Media, Pa.

6. Doukhobor Committee reports. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1909-1911, at Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

7. Doukhobor Papers. The Peace Collection, Swarthmore College.

8. Elkinton, D. C., op. cit., p. 165.

9. Elkinton, Howard W. (1949). The Doukhobors and the Peace Ideal. In *Friends Intellingencer*, Phila., 11th mo. 3rd, 1949 p. 701.

10. Elkinton, J. Passmore, op. cit.

11. J. Passmore Elkinton, J.Passmore. (1927). The Doukhobors in Canada Up to Date. In *The Friend*, Philadelphia, 9th mo. 29, 1927, p. 163.

12. Cary, Stephen G. (1993). A Further Quaker Doukhobor Connection: The American Friends Service Committee and the Sons of Freedom. Report for this volume.

THE CANADIAN GENESIS OF THE SONS OF FREEDOM

by

J. Colin Yerbury and John Whitworth

Doukhobor Introversionism

In terms of their response to the external world, the approximately seven thousand five hundred Doukhobors who arrived in Canada in 1899 were members of an introversionist sect. Doukhobor introversionism closely corresponds with one of the seven ideal-typical categories of the most fully developed and analytically fruitful typology of sectarian responses to the external society devised by Bryan Wilson (1970). The term "sect" is here used non-pejoratively to denote a tightly bounded, minority religious group whose members reject all, or some significant aspect of, worldly morality, culture and social structure. Sectarians lay claim to special, higher, exclusive knowledge of God's will and of the divinely sanctioned way to live.

The essential feature of the response to the world by an introversionist sect is that the sectarians regard the external society as irredeemably unenlightened and corrupt. Introversionists seek to shun contamination by the corrupt world in the divinely appointed sanctuary of their own especially sanctified and enlightened fellowship. Essentially, the introversionist response is to abandon the world to corruption. The members of such groups in Wilson's words (1970:43): "seek to withdraw into a life of inner holiness, which is both a quality of an individual and of the sects community life." The sectarians show little interest in converting outsiders, who are regarded as a potential source of contamination. They direct their energies to preserving their sanctified fellowship in a posture of rigidly bounded detachment from the surrounding society.

The maintenance of a viable degree of social, moral and psychological detachment (frequently, following the logic of the response, in a communal form) requires constant vigilance on the part of the sectarians and is also dependent on a degree of toleration, or indifference, in the wider society. Historically, such a condition of sustained religious tolerance of introversionists has been hard to find. The story of long-persisting introversionist groups is often one of persecution followed by migration to apparently more hospitable social climates. Such persecution, if it does not destroy the group, quite understandably intensifies its members' conviction that "the world" is godless, evil and to be shunned.

To describe a particular sect's response as "introversionist" is of course for the sociologist mere initial designation that leads on to examination of the specific rationale of the group's posture vis-a-vis the surrounding society. Each group is unique and the fact that two sects exhibit a distinctively introversionist response does not imply that their reasons for rejecting the world, their organizational structure, or their life-chances as unified groups seeking to maintain themselves in spiritual quarantine, are identical.

Thus, the two most significant introversionist groups in twentieth century Canada, the Doukhobors and the Hutterites, superficially appear to have much in common. However, the ideological, cultural and attitudinal differences between them are such that their patterns of development in the last seventy years have been markedly divergent. Both sects share a history of sporadic but savage persecution in Europe; both are pacifistic and regard worldly governments with marked distrust. Economic communism and a fully communal, agrarian life style are practised by the Hutterites and were at different periods achieved by groups of the Doukhobors. Both groups are convinced that the Divine Spirit moves in their fellowship and so emphasize, or emphasized with certain reservations in the Doukhobor case, the desirability of attaining unanimity in all important decisions.

The differences between the two groups are easily summarized but are far-reaching and profound in their consequences. The Hutterites, as Anabaptist Protestants, are quintessentially "people of the book." Their sacred writings are the Bible and collections of sermons and principles of faith that for centuries have unchangeably crystallized the "Hutterite way." In contrast, the Doukhobors hold that "the letter killeth" and their beliefs, hymns and history, are orally transmitted. This permits the transmitter some latitude to (consciously or unconsciously) selectively emphasize, neglect, or reinterpret aspects of their theology.

The Doukhobors refer to their orally transmitted theology as the "Living Book," the adjective implying that they subscribe to ideas of continuing, progressive revelation. While the Hutterites have no overall leader and employ democratic procedures in the election of persons to responsible positions, the Doukhobors believe that there are always "Christs" on earth and number their leaders among them.

Despite this tendency to regard their leaders as quasi-divine figures, the Doukhobors' belief that something of the Holy Spirit resides in every individual, has meant that their leaders, exalted as they were in the past, always faced the possibility of challenges from other, self-proclaimed "living Christs." Such prophets typically drew on the utopian and millenarian strands of the "Living Book," combining these with their own dreams and revelations to announce new missions, obligations and practices.

Thus, on their arrival in Canada in 1899, while to sympathizers (most significantly Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior) the Doukhobor immigrants appeared united in their poverty, piety and allegiance to their leader, Peter V. Verigin (who was to remain in exile in Siberia until late in 1902), in reality the group was already shot through with potential for conflict, schism and fragmentation. This potential was soon to become actualized as the wealthier Doukhobors moved toward economic individualism and as the more committed sectarians experienced hostility from their xenophobic neighbours and, what they took to be, betrayal at the hands of representatives of the Canadian state.

In the eight years following the Doukhobor immigration to Canada and preceding the establishment of the communistic Veriginite, "Second Community" in British Columbia, conflicts and patterns of schism and fragmentation developed that were to intensify over the following sixty years. The independently inclined Doukhobors either succumbed individually to the assimilative pressures of Canadian society or, renouncing Verigin's leadership in 1916, formed the Society of Independent Doukhobors. More notoriously, the initial period of settlement in what was to become the Province of Saskatchewan, gave birth to the Sons of Freedom, who were totally committed to preserving what they took to be essential Doukhoborism "unspotted by the world."

Although they were variously condemned by other Doukhobors and persons in the external society as suffering from mental disorders and delusions and, later, as blood-crazed, destructive fanatics, the actions of the Sons of Freedom can be seen to have followed a logic of their own. Increasingly, as the Independents defected and the Veriginites compromised with the demands of the Canadian government, the Sons of Freedom cast themselves in the role of the defenders of true, pristine Doukhoborism. They sought first to demonstrate their contempt for worldly morality and materialism and, second, to challenge and resist governmental intrusion and to punish those of their co-religionists who they felt had betrayed the Doukhobor faith. The Sons of Freedom consequently emerged as a kind of *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, a sub-sect that was radical in its commitment to purifying and revitalizing the Doukhobor faith and communal way of life.

Settlement and Disillusion -- The Origins of the Sons of Freedom, 1899-1902

The details of the Doukhobors' initial settlement in Canada can be found in the two most inclusive works on the sect (Tarasoff 1982; Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968). Suffice it to say that for the first year, the Doukhobors were preoccupied with establishing their more than fifty villages in the districts of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan. The men worked either as farmhands for their prairie neighbours or on farms of their own, or on railway construction projects (*Province*, January 24, 1901). The Canadian Northern railway line was in the process of construction and the wages earned were turned into a common fund by Doukhobor labourers to be used for the general good of their villages. About two thirds of the able-bodied men in each village left their communities to earn money while the rest remained behind to build their villages and to farm.

The Doukhobor men quickly gained a reputation for their hard work and industriousness. The women as well gained recognition for their high standard of needle-work. Soon, however, the Doukhobors came to realize and respond to the fact that, even in relatively liberal Canada, they were subject to governmental ordinances and requirements. Not all their neighbours and fellow workers were supportive. Some goaded the sectarians to test the strength of their pacifist convictions, others resented what they saw as the unwarranted special treatment given to the Doukhobors, whom they sneeringly referred to as "Sifton's pets."

By April 1901, the Canadian press was beginning to paint a more negative picture about the experiment, which had "not proved wholly successful, for the Doukhobors have grievances, and they have issued an address to the nations on the subject" (*Colonist,* April 9, 1901). Twenty-nine Doukhobors from Yorkton, some of whom later called themselves the "Sons of God," issued a statement describing Canada as an intolerable country for three reasons: 1) the nation permitted private ownership of land that was in opposition to the laws of God; 2) marriage laws were considered incompatible since the laws required that something other than falling in love was necessary to constitute a legal marriage; and 3) the Doukhobors did not understand why any man should not be allowed to divorce his wife when he wanted to without legal formality (*Colonist*, April 9, 1901). While the press was not particularly sympathetic, the Canadian government, especially through the Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton, defended the Doukhobors as law abiding citizens who had not committed an offense and the twenty-nine individuals were not likely to repeat their protests.

Most conflicts between the Doukhobors and government have occurred over land, its laws of registration and ownership, and over Canadian citizenship and its privileges and obligations (Yerbury 1984). Seemingly unknown to the Doukhobors, it was eventually necessary for each of them to take oaths of allegiance to the Crown to secure full title to their land. It is relatively certain that Canadian officials had not pointed out such a requirement to the Doukhobor delegates during the negotiations of 1898. Oaths of allegiance had earlier been grounds for contention with the Tsarist authorities. From the beginning of 1901, the Commissioner of Crown Lands began to exert increasing pressure on the Doukhobors to register individually for quarter-sections. Notices were eventually posted threatening that any lands not entered by May 1, 1902, would be open to any homesteader who wished to settle on them (Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:171). Political pressure had been exerted on the government by rival landseekers and ranchers and by local merchants and labour leaders who viewed the Doukhobors as having unfair advantages over them. Most of the Prince Albert colonists did comply with the order and registered individually for their lands, but in the two colonies near Yorkton only a few registered while under severe ostracism by their brethren. It was not possible for the government to fulfil its threat of withdrawing land from the Doukhobors since more than four thousand individuals would have been left homeless on the prairies.

The land issue was to remain simmering under the surface for a few more years. More immediately striking and challenging to the conservative sectarians was the fact that between the time of their arrival and 1902, about one third of the Doukhobors abandoned communism and moved toward individualism, especially at Prince Albert. Only the North Colony near Yorkton remained devoted to the ideals of a communistic religious brotherhood, but even there commitment varied. This pronounced shift towards individualism can serve to demarcate the beginning of the Independent Doukhobors.

The first conflicts between the Doukhobors and government over land and civil statistics registration, coupled with public hostility and the perceived betrayal of Doukhobor ideals by Independents dismayed the conservative "zealots" and occurred while the sect suffered from a leadership vacuum. Verigin was still in exile in Siberia and individuals who were variously regarded as "eccentrics" or "especially inspired" were able to interpret Verigin's rare communications in such a way as to justify their condemnation of Canadian law and government and to claim divine warranty for sweeping purification of the Doukhobor communities.

Relations between the Doukhobors and their Canadian neighbours were greatly strained by the seemingly peculiar and irrational practices of the "Sons of God." Interpreting Verigin's messages and seeking purity of faith, they determined that to be members of the "Sons of God" people had to give freedom to all creation. Telegraphic despatches and newspapers described an "extraordinary religious mania" that occurred among "Sifton's pets" (*Colonist*, September 1, 1902). All domesticated animals were emancipated by the zealots: "It was wrong to make servants of any of the lower animals, to use them for beasts of burden or for any other purpose" (*Colonist*, September 1, 1902). While the Veriginites believed it was sinful to eat animal flesh, the zealots proclaimed that even animal products were "forbidden fruits." Milk, butter, cheese and eggs from "God's creatures" were sinful to eat. Everything made of leather or animal skins and wool was burnt and purification by fire became an item in the Sons of Freedom redemptive arsenal.

With the farm animals having been liberated and driven off to forage for themselves, the brute labour of farm work was undertaken by the zealots themselves. Men and women were hitched to wagons and farm equipment to replace draft animals. Needless to say, the arrival in a prairie town of a team of a dozen men and women who were clad only in cotton garments and wearing rubber boots or shoes knit or woven from binder twine and who were hitched to wagons astounded their Canadian neighbours. The Canadian press had a field-day tracing the causes of the "Sons of God's" behaviour to internal factors such as bio-genetic abnormalities, personality or character disorders, mental aberrations and the like. The Doukhobors' "Slavonic mind" was described as possessing a "peculiar faculty for communal aberration, and a practical devotion to what it has accepted as true which would be sublime if it were not so pitiable" (*Colonist*, September 3, 1902). The Canadian government was accused of introducing a religious sect suffering from "progressive delusional insanity" (September 3, 1902:4). Incomprehensible group behaviour was to be treated as a type of collective mental disorder and not the slightest recognition was given to the fact that the Sons of Freedom actions might, given their religious beliefs, be prompted by a consistent, if aberrant, logic of their own.

With nearly 1000 abandoned livestock wandering around the zealots communities and winter approaching, the Immigration Department was compelled to gather the animals for auction so that the proceeds could be devoted "to maintaining the fanatics as far as the proceeds will go" (*Colonist*, September 28, 1902). Public opinion was not sympathetic to either the Doukhobors or the government. It was difficult for the public to understand why the government was auctioning off live stock bought only a few years before for the Doukhobors: "If it could give these animals to the Doukhobors, why cannot it now give them to some 'white' settlers, instead to trying to sell them? Has it gone out of the 'giving away' business into that of public auctioneer, or is there some reason why 'white' settlers should be made to pay for the presents the Doukhobors have discarded. Will somebody please answer?" (September 28, 1902).

In the summer of the same year, 1902, inspired by communications from "Peter the Lordly" in which he talked about a land "near the sun" where fruit was "raised by an abundance of solar heat" (Wright 1940:189), some of the Sons of God visited Southern California but found the climate too hot for comfort. Subsequently, in reaction to California and in what must have been a mood of near total desperation and disillusionment, they wrote to the Governor of Irkutsk, in Central Siberia, in an attempt to return to Russia. In the fall of 1902, they petitioned Dominion Land officials to transfer them to the fruit-growing areas of British Columbia or southern Ontario, but they received no response (*Colonist,* October 23, 1902:1).

Disappointed in their hopes of emigration, the Sons of God began to evangelize in other Doukhobor communities (particularly those whose inhabitants were complying with governmental requirements and registering for homesteads), seeking recruits for a millenarian pilgrimage to find the promised land and there meet Christ. Despite threats, contempt and mockery, by October of 1902 the zealots had gathered over a thousand men, women and children to embark on the pilgrimage: "They believe they have been called to preach the Gospel to all people, and have given up all to follow Christ" (*Colonist*, October 31, 1902:1). A strange assemblage of barefooted, singing pilgrims, foraging for seed pods of wild rose bushes, raw potatoes, leaves, grass and almost anything of vegetable nature, contrasted with everyday prairie life and provided political opportunity for the Conservative party as well as sensationalistic fuel for the Canadian press (Wright 1940: 194-197; Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:178-181).

While the women and children were stopped at Yorkton, 600 male marchers reached Minnedosa, Manitoba on November 6, 1902. By then, their millenarian enthusiasm had waned as a result of exhaustion and bitter weather. The Sons of God had asserted that Christ "would give them sunny skies under which to travel during their quest. There would be no winter, they said, while they were on the march" (*Colonist*, November 5, 1902:1). Superb weather during the fall of 1902 seemed to bear out their prediction, but by the first week of November a miserable snowstorm caused considerable discomfort and it was thought that it might "induce the misguided fanatics to abandon their quest for a visible Saviour and return to agricultural life and their abandoned homes" (*Colonist*, November 5, 1902:1).

The Sons of God remained "undismayed," and while it was believed that "Jesus will keep us warm" before the seasonal change, the pilgrims now rationalized the change differently: "They have, as is often the case with extreme religionists taken the exactly opposite view, and now rejoice in the very hardships they affect [sic] to believed non-existent a few days ago" (*Colonist*, November 6, 1902:1). Cold, suffering and perhaps death were rationalized as being Jesus' calling: "Very cold; no sleep for cold, but Jesus see us bear cold for Him. He knows we like him. We His people" (1902:1). Suffering and hardship became normal to the pilgrims who identified symbolically with Christ. Very few resisted the immigration officials' effort to send them back to Assiniboia, and those who did were carried onto a special train by the police. The only other form of resistance was a brief hunger strike by women and children, a type of protest that was to be employed repeatedly in decades to come.

The Freedomite Sub-Sect (1903-1908)

The collapse of the millenarian pilgrimage must have given great joy to the opponents of the Sons of Freedom, but it appears only to have temporarily disheartened the pilgrims themselves. When Peter V. Verigin was released from his Siberian exile, arriving in Canada in December of 1902, the zealots probably expected that their "Living Christ" would purify the group and return it to the true Doukhobor way. If so, their hopes were doomed to be short-lived.

Verigin seems to have had two major concerns once he arrived in the Doukhobor colonies. The first was to unify the group by exerting his claim to leadership over all the disputing factions and disaffected individuals. The second problem requiring immediate attention was the formalities concerning land registration. Verigin was made aware of the requirements of the Dominion Land Act, and he determined that registration was a mere formality as long as his followers did not regard land as individual property, but as communally owned. Only a few dissidents refused to register their quarter-sections. At the time, it appeared that Verigin had united the Doukhobors, but less than six months after his arrival the dissidents were beginning to evangelize and to resist what they perceived as Verigin's concessions to the corrupt external society (Wright 1940:213-215; Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:194).

A subsect now calling themselves *svobodniki* or "Freedomites" (labelled "Sons of Freedom": by western Canadians) began wandering through the community preaching resistance to the temptations of the external world. Unable at first to recognize, or perhaps to tolerate their recognition of, the fact that their leader had compromised Doukhobor ideals by conceding to government demands, the Sons of Freedom drew on the painfully established Doukhobor tradition of duplicitiousness in dealing with government officials and claimed that Verigin meant his followers to understand the opposite of his public statements. To win Verigin's approval the Sons of Freedom believed they should act in accordance with the radical spirit of his communication from exile, ignoring his public pronouncements that were made only to placate the worldly satanic powers. The majority of the busy farmers largely ignored the exhortatory preaching of the Sons of Freedom until May 1903, when the zealots employed a new attention getting tactic, preaching and evangelizing naked "in the manner of the first man Adam and Eve, to show nature to humanity" (Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:194).

The Sons of Freedom paraded in Adamite simplicity through fifteen Doukhobor communities, and were received with remonstrations and mockery. In the sixteenth village, they were whipped with willow switches by Verigin's followers until they were covered with blood (Wright 1940:214). Verigin's attempts to disperse the group failed, and the paraders, fully clothed, singing melancholy psalms, and grazing on grass and leaves like their brothers the animals, moved on toward Yorkton. Two miles from the community, they were stopped by the police and ordered to return to their villages, but they did not stop. A posse of townsmen met them on the outskirts and attempted to dress them. In Yorkton, the "Sons of Freedom" were confined to the immigration hall. They were later convicted of indecent exposure and sentenced to three month's imprisonment in the Regina Goal. Their accounts of the prison sentence and reports of barbarous acts on the part of prison officials have never been verified (Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:195; Wright 1940:218-221; Zubek 1952:65-67).

The nude parades and the prison sentence served to create a strong nucleus for the Sons of Freedom subsect for several reasons. The radical zealots were now convinced that Verigin was no longer the Christ, since he had denounced their behaviour. They vowed to owe allegiance to him no longer nor to any other leader. They were convinced, too, that the community Doukhobors were moving away from the true faith by following Verigin and succumbing to worldly temptations. The immigrants were adopting Canadian farming methods by purchasing satanic farm machinery. Metal implements were evil since in the mines people were tortured to obtain ore. On their release, some of the zealots attempted to set fire to a threshing machine to force the non-Sons of Freedom back to the pure and holy life. For the first time destruction by fire was used by the Sons of Freedom as an agent of purification and renunciation, and the fact that Verigin insisted on prosecuting six of the zealots for arson (they received sentences of three years imprisonment) must have been the final straw that broke the Sons of Freedom's residual allegiance to him.

While the zealots had always harboured dark suspicions regarding governments and civil authorities, their experience of both physical punishment and confinement for demonstrating their freedom from worldly influences served only to intensify their view of the irredeemable nature of Canadian society. In addition, their incarceration allowed them to identify with Christ and his disciples who had also been persecuted. The zealots were placed in the coveted position of being martyrs, and they knew that future protest parades would result in widespread publicity and imprisonment or martyrdom - a tool that was used effectively by their descendants (Zubek 1952:67-68; Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:197). If the police and residents of Yorkton had avoided confinement and let the Freedomites suffer from exposure, mosquito bites and hunger for a few days, the nude demonstration would probably have proved ineffective (Zubek 1952:68). There were other attempts at pilgrimages and nude demonstrations between 1904 and 1905, but these were limited in scope.

The continued secession or disaffection of the more Independent Doukhobors (who retained their allegiance to the Doukhobor religion but rejected Verigin's communistic organization of his followers) was seen by Verigin as more threatening to the maintenance of is community. In 1906, after Verigin's threats had persuaded a large number of Independents to return (presumably sheepishly) to his fold, the outstanding Independents numbered about eight hundred and fifty individuals, while the Veriginites were almost ten times as numerous (Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:198). Most of the Independents were expelled by the Community Doukhobors and took up homesteads outside of the Doukhobor reserves. With the more worldly and individualistic elements purged, Verigin's communistic "Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood" (C.C.U.B.) was highly centralized and economically successful by 1907. However, the question of the oath of allegiance, which was a prerequisite for legal land registration, had merely been postponed by Verigin's earlier rather Jesuitical temporizing, and, resurfaced with a vengeance in 1906. It was to be the primary cause of the Veriginites' migration to British Columbia from 1908.

In 1905, when the Doukhobor reserves became part of the newly established Province of Saskatchewan, Clifford Sifton resigned and was replaced as Minister of the Interior by Frank Oliver, who had no previous commitment to the Doukhobors and, as soon became dramatically apparent, scant sympathy for them (Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:218). In March of 1906, Oliver ruled that Doukhobor land registrations were to be dealt with in all respects as ordinary homesteads. This meant that improvements had to be made on every quarter-section, including the construction of a dwelling. It was difficult for the Doukhobors to comply since they were already living in communal villages in the centre of their land reserves. Verigin advised that no sectarian should sign for land independently.

Faced with the resultant "Doukhobor problem," Oliver appointed a commission to tour the colonies to ascertain which sectarians had followed the Homestead Act regulations, and to encourage Doukhobors to sign independently. By June, over half the land entered by the Doukhobors between 1902 and 1905 was confiscated. The government made available about 258,880 acres of choice farm lands to the general public, which resulted in the greatest land rush in the Canadian prairies (Department of the Interior 1907:7-8; Zubek 1952:71; Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:222; *Province*, June 3, 1907:1). Some 122,880 acres of land were reserved by the government for the community Doukhobors, but this did not provide sufficient pastures or the capacity for agricultural expansion. The Community Doukhobors were, thus, dispirited and disheartened, and this situation encouraged the revival of the radical sectarians.

In August of 1907 about seventy of the zealots, men and women alike, dressed in long blue gowns and straw hats, began a pilgrimage that they claimed would lead them to a warmer land where Christ awaited them as their leader rather than Verigin, who they condemned as a "machinery man." The pilgrims, begging from spectators as they passed, moved through Winnipeg and eastern Manitoba finally settling on the not markedly warmer shores of Lake Superior, at Fort William. They wintered in a rented building, paraded naked through the town on New Year's Day (the police, sensibly tolerant for once, covered them in horse blankets and conveyed them to their dwelling), and in the spring burnt their clothes. Eventually, tolerance ran out, nineteen of the Sons of Freedom received six month sentences; the whole group reassembled in Saskatchewan a year after they set out (Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:223).

During the year of the Freedomites' absence, Verigin initially attempted to restore his group's prosperity. He purchased a brick factory and urged his followers to grow the maximum possible crops on their depleted land-holdings. Livestock was sold and the young men were all sent to work outside the community. All these measures were preparations for another exodus and after tentatively exploring the possibility of returning to Russia, or settling in California, in the spring of 1908 Verigin made an exploratory visit to British Columbia. There he personally bought almost six thousand acres of land, bequeathing them to the community as a whole. On these lands, which were to be supplemented by further purchases, the Verginites reassembled, forming the communistic "Second Community." Despite their earlier denunciations of Verigin as a compromiser and materialist, the Sons of Freedom emigrated with Verigin's followers. They had, of course, no place else to go and presumably once again entertained the soon-to-be disappointed hope that, as members of a land-owning religious community, in British Columbia they would be free to follow the path of true Doukhoborism, unmolested by the state and uncontaminated by other worldly, satanic influences.

Thus, during the approximate decade of Doukhobor settlement in Saskatchewan, the disappointment of unrealistic expectations, Verigin's compromises and vacillations, the insensitivity and occasional outright duplicity of Canadian officials all occurring in a social climate that, while illiberal, did not sanction draconian repression, gave birth to the Sons of Freedom, whose actions were to tarnish the reputation of Doukhobors generally for the next sixty years. The Sons of Freedom had gained an appreciation of the shock-value of nude demonstrations and the attention-getting capacity of millenarian pilgrimages. They had ventured on hunger-strikes and had made an exploratory use of arson as a means of ritual purification. In British Columbia, as self-appointed guardians of the purity of the true Doukhobor way of life, the Sons of Freedom were to refine and intensify their employment of these techniques of resistance and rejection. Whenever they judged that Doukhobor introversionism was compromised by governmental requirements or, increasingly as time passed, whenever they became outraged by the mainstream Doukhobors' gradual accommodation to, or partial absorption by, Canadian society, the Sons of Freedom activists sprang to the defence of what they believed was their divinest ordained way of life. The state was to be unrelentingly resisted, backsliders punished by having their property burned or dynamited, while the Sons of Freedom frequently demonstrated their contempt for materialism by destroying their own homes.

The fact that such actions caused them to be loathed and feared by many of their co-religionists and regarded as dangerous and deranged by outsiders, seems to have troubled the hardcore Freedomites not a lot. For some members of the subsequent generations of Freedomites, terror and destruction may well have become ends in themselves, but for those who were genuinely dedicated to purifying and, in their terms, revitalizing the sect, the obloquy they were subjected to and the punishments they received only strengthened their conviction of the corruption of the world and the correctness of their actions. Ironically, the words that Clifford Sifton spoke to the Canadian Parliament in defence of the Doukhobors in general can be applied with particular force to the truly committed Sons of Freedom (Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:165):

> ...I doubt if there are five men in this House who would show the moral courage, who would show the tenacity, who would show the fortitude which these people have shown for the purpose of preserving the faith which they believe to be the true faith.

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SCHOOLING AND THE DOUKHOBOR EXPERIENCE

by
John W. Friesen

The perspective from which most educators approach the experience of learning is restrictive in the sense that it conjures up pictures about the formal school setting: classrooms, teachers and books. In a broader sense, however, education may be defined as including "the aggregate of all the processes by means of which a person develops abilities, attitudes, and other forms of behaviour of positive value in the society in which he lives..." (Good 1959). The work of cross-cultural anthropologists is helpful in this context, and encourages an appreciation for alternate cultural *modus operandi*. A more objective search will reveal that a variety of culturally-derived educational institutions exist within a particular cultural configuration, which function quite adequately in their respective contexts. Although perhaps not as readily recognizable as the North American model of schooling, perhaps because of the nature of the model utilized, these "processes of furthering learning" are as valid as more formalized, institutionalized forms (Firth 1955). It is well to keep this observation in mind when the educational aspect of Doukhobor history is analyzed. As will be shown, the Doukhobor orientation to fostering a functional learning atmosphere has well-established historical roots, even though it has been severely misrepresented and even scorned in the Canadian context. Traditional Doukhobor forms of promoting learning (education) met with the same degree of resistance in Canada as their preference for an alternate form of property ownership. So deeply entrenched was Canadian opposition to cultural variation that national officials at the very highest levels of authority chose outrightly to condemn the Doukhobor way of life.

The Historical Base

Perhaps the key to understanding the Doukhobor mystique is to examine the workings of the oral tradition which is at the very basis of their culture. This is a difficult undertaking for those who primarily trust information obtained via the printed page because the oral tradition puts a great deal of emphasis on such phenomena as generational lineality, spirituality and trust (Snow 1977). This kind of social system functions according to implicit rather than explicit institutional structures although the same cultural ends are realized: the development of abilities, attitudes and other forms of behaviour of positive value in a particular society.

To be fair it should be pointed out that the oral tradition of the Doukhobors is not entirely void of the written record-keeping, at least insofar as their leadership is concerned. Throughout their history, relations between Doukhobor people and the outside world - government, in particular, have required documentation. In addition, during the nearly sixteen-year period when Peter V. Verigin (Peter the Lordly) was exiled to Siberia he occasionally dispatched instructions to his people by messenger which would be read and interpreted by his chosen assistants. His letters contained doctrinal and social direction which his trusted followers translated for the people. In this context it could be argued that the Doukhobors received at least *some* formal instruction, which they respected, via the printed page.

The Doukhobors regarded state schools in the same manner as other social and political institutions: they were tools of the agents of oppression and control. Schooling was not an issue when they entered Canada, because the receiving Canadian government was concerned primarily with the Doukhobor commitment to farming and their promise not to engage in any act of insurrection. For the Doukhobors, two items were of prime concern: (1) that they be exempt from military service, and (2) that they be permitted to settle in blocks or reserves as they had done in Russia (Tarasoff 1982:35).

The first clash over schooling with the Doukhobors occurred in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, in January 1900 when the Doukhobors refused to pay a school tax of eight dollars. Their position was that since their children did not attend school there was no need to pay the tax. The school district seized a horse from a Doukhobor village to compensate as a fine even though school officials made it clear that they were not too anxious to have Doukhobor children attend their school. Doukhobors later complained to the Council of Public Instruction that not only did they not have access to public schooling, they were charged inordinately high taxes. The school district board members defended themselves by insisting that no Doukhobors had ever made application to the district office for their children to attend school. Further, officials argued that they had no plans to build additional schools for the Doukhobors since they had not registered for their lands and would probably not remain long in the district. The provincial attorney-general pointed out that taxation implied privilege, and thus Doukhobor children should be accommodated in local schools. By 1906 it was reported that Doukhobor children in one district were attending school, but there were many districts where this was not the case (Lyons 1973:62).

There was a positive glimmer in the initial chapter of Doukhobor education in Canada, thanks to the efforts of the Society of Friends (Quakers) who began schools among the Doukhobors in 1900. At that time, two women, Eliza H. Varney of Bloomfield, Ontario, and Nellie Baker of Kingston, Ontario, worked out of three pitched tents, one provided living quarters, another served as a dispensary and the third functioned as a school; they reported encouraging results. Miss Baker indicated that after barely two months of instruction, some of the children were able to correspond "in fairly understandable English" (Tarasoff 1969:100). While the Quakers continued their educational efforts among the Doukhobors, reports were that many of the pupils drifted away from school because of Peter V. Verigin's influence (Woodcock and Avakumovic 1977:212-214). This contradicts an earlier report suggesting that Verigin encouraged cooperation with schooling, but it is possible that Verigin might have changed his mind after discovering that the Quakers had more than the three R's in mind when teaching Doukhobor children. Like other religious groups they included religious conversion in their list of educational objectives. At the very least this situation indicates that the Doukhobors were not *adamantly* opposed to schooling. In fact, their perceptions appear to have been honed by a multiplicity of factors, in particular the attitudes of their teachers. The activities of the Quakers appear to have been somewhat sensitive toward the Doukhobor lifestyle and this suggests that if the Doukhobors had been afforded even a minimum of understanding by public authorities, their attitudes toward education might have been seen as a better fit with rest of the Canadian populace.

When Saskatchewan became a province, her leaders set about establishing a provincial school system following the format established by David Goggin who in 1890 was appointed superintendent of schools for the Northwest Territories. A thorough-going imperialist, Goggin saw all cultural minorities as functional illiterates who needed to learn to appreciate the virtues of the British Empire. Goggin believed that the children of all "different races and creeds" in the N.W.T. should be homogenized into a national unity of Canadian (Anglo) youth (McDonald 1974). When J.A. Calder was appointed Minister of Education in Saskatchewan, he continued the policies established by Goggin. He appointed school trustees, such as Joseph Megas, who was assigned supervisor of Ruthenian schools and subsequently organized two schools in Ukrainian districts as well as in two Doukhobor communities near Rosthern. Megas called for a change in school law to establish a system of English-speaking trustees, compulsory school attendance and a government-training school to prepare non-English speaking immigrants as teachers for their own people (Lyons 1973:74).

Intensified Opposition Through Migration

Formal schooling was not high on the list of priorities for the Doukhobors who followed their leader, Peter V. Verigin, to British Columbia, and their intentions were once again to perpetuate their traditional lifestyle via established internal structures. This included the socialization of their children. They were unaware of the implications of moving to an established province with a dominant cultural (British) influence. Neither the citizens of British Columbia nor their government were prepared to dispense a great deal of patience to any newcomer groups who might find their laws unsuitable. This was particularly true with regard to schooling which meticulously reflected the values of the dominant culture of the most westerly province and functioned in accordance with established laws and regulations (Lyons 1973:114).

In 1912, William Blakemore was appointed as government commissioner to investigate Doukhobor reluctance toward schooling. Basically, the community's opposition targeted the *content and format* of schooling, not the institution or process of schooling per se. The Doukhobors contended that the schools operated according to undesirable and immoral dictates and promoted the worldly values of easy profit, thievery, cheating and exploitation. This was a cultural protest, not an anti-school movement. In addition, they spurned the school's advocacy of military training which for them represented a validation of the useless shedding of innocent people's blood. The Doukhobors were not prepared for the results of Blakemore's report which recommended compulsory schooling for Doukhobor children. He *did* concede that the schools neglected to take cognizance of Doukhobor values, and urged that the educational process be amended towards that end. He also suggested that Russian-speaking teachers be hired and the curriculum be modified to incorporate only "elementary subjects" which would essentially promote minimal literacy. The hardest blow came from Blakemore's recommendation that the Doukhobor exemption from military service be cancelled.

In 1917, the pressures towards Doukhobor conformity continued with the passing of the provincial Community Regulation Act which obliged the Doukhobors to provide vital statistics of births, deaths and marriage; it also stipulated compulsory education for Doukhobor children. Failure to comply would result in fines and failure to pay those would justify the seizure of community goods. Two years later, when all efforts to produce some kind of compromise failed, a school was built at Brilliant and by 1922 eleven schools were in operation, two built by the government and the rest by Doukhobors (Ashworth 1979:142).

This section of our account should not be interpreted as leading towards a happy ending; for it was quite to the contrary. Almost as soon as school construction were complete, fines were levied to parents for failure to send their children to school. The following year the burning of schools began, but when these activities reached high proportions the government raised the amount of the fines and school attendance resumed. The truce was short-lived, however, and within a few years the zealous faction of the Doukhobors again began burning schools and staging various forms of protest. When Peter Petrovich Verigin (Peter the Purger), arrived in Canada he tried to eliminate the fanatical element from Doukhobor ranks and many of them moved to Krestova, a few miles from Castlegar. From there, out of both frustration and zeal, they continued their protesting antics and, thanks to the press, generally conveyed a negative image of the entire Doukhobor community which has prevailed in Canada to this day (Friesen 1988:85-90). In the meantime Peter P. Verigin urged his Orthodox followers to try to adapt to public schooling which might in the final analysis serve to enrich the Doukhobor way of life through the benefits available in Canada (Stoochnoff 1961:21).

For the last several decades a very negative concept of the Doukhobor attitude towards schooling has ben fostered by a popular, albeit unfortunate and biased book entitled, *Doukhobor Daze* (O'Neail 1974). Written by a teacher who worked for a year in a Doukhobor village school from 1937 to 1938, the book offers an insensitive description of the Doukhobor lifestyle which apparently appeared quite pathetic and very amusing to the author. The book comprises a personal diary of the teacher's daily experiences, in the village community and offers only minimal information about how the Doukhobor schools actually functioned. Today, because of the emphasis on multicultural education in teacher training, we are staggered with disbelief at the antics of a teacher who clearly lacked both an understanding of and any sympathy for the Doukhobor way of life. Teachers-in-training are cautioned about developing a student-centred approach to curriculum content and method of instruction. They are urged to display a positive feeling of self-esteem and be aware of the underlying value-orientation of their own culture. This attitude must be extended to the pupils whose culture should be afforded a place of respect within the school context. Teachers are to discuss stereotyped thinking and show how it leads to prejudice. They are to be aware of the damage which prejudice, racism and discrimination can cause for the learner. Pupils are to be encouraged to explore their own cultural heritage and to value it. The classroom atmosphere is to be fostered that will allow each pupil to feel a part of the group while maintaining their own unique cultural identity -- and feeling good about it (Friesen 1985; Tiedt and Tiedt 1990).

Against this multicultural education mandate, it is disturbing to read O'Neail's diary about her school teaching experiences. After a brief description of the Doukhobor villages, she outlines her first day's experiences by examining the roster. Evidently unaware of the Russian origins of the Doukhobors she expresses shock that the children's surnames all end in "off," and writes, "Abrissimoff, Babakaoff, Chernenkoff, Davidoff... Zoobkoff -- I'm bewilderedoff!"

> And that's not all. There are three Petes, three Johns, three Mikes, three Fannies, two Tenas, three Marys, three Nicks, two Pollys, three Annies, four Bills. This could become very confusing, so -- I shall change their names thus: Pete, Peter, and Pat; John, Johnny, and Jack; Mike, Michael, and Mickey... So be it (O'Neail 1974:3).

After an absence of more than twenty years, O'Neail returned to the village school where she taught and expressed delight at the changes - Anglo names, "Elaine, Margaret, Linda and June", for the girls and "Robert, Leonard, Wayne and Ronnie" for the boys, modern furniture, "English dresses" for the girls, and "the first graders already speak English *before* they enter school!" O'Neail concludes:

> And I am happy for them and for their neighbours whose lives have been lifted from the gloomy and depressing surroundings in which they once lived (O'Neail 1974:140).

It would be unfair to generalize that all teachers in Doukhobor schools held patronizing attitudes toward the Doukhobor lifestyle and were thus amused by obvious cultural differences. On the other hand, the fears of Doukhobor elders that schools could be contaminating influences to their young were not without foundation. Observers noted that by the 1930's Community Doukhobors began to attend movies; and baseball, a sport learned at school, became a favourite. Automobiles became a common means of conveyance so that people could go to town on a Saturday night and meet with non-Doukhobor friends. Purchases made by Doukhobors at local stores indicated a strong measure of assimilation -- hand lotions, hotwater bottles, bobby pins, perfumed soaps, toothbrushes and powders and pills (Zubek and Soberg 1952:194). With the enhanced use of the automobile it became possible to travel further afield and engage in behaviours which might not be possible under the disapproving eyes of the elders. Because of these various influences, by the nineteen fifties large numbers of Doukhobor children attended high schools and institutions of post-secondary education, and did well in their studies.

Perhaps the darkest chapter in Doukhobor educational history occurred in 1953 in British Columbia, when it was reported that many Sons of Freedom children were not attending school. These children were taken from their parents in groups and 170 of them were forcibly detained for six years at New Denver, B.C. Although the children were instructed by their parents to resist the authorities, the plan was successfully initiated by government action and subsided in 1959 only when the parents promised to comply with provincial laws. As Ashworth has summarized:

> ...taking the children with the alleged purpose of educating them only deepened the crisis, and for the children the memory of the separation might instill a life-long feeling of hatred towards the authorities which no amount of education could eradicate (Ashworth 1979:163).

Conclusion

The past thirty years have witnessed continued efforts to assimilate Doukhobor children through schooling. For the most part this campaign has been successful. In the meantime, occasional protests have emanated from the small Sons of Freedom sector, launched out of frustration with the insensitivity of the system, and earmarked by marches and blazing fires. Of approximately 10,000 active Doukhobors in the West Kootenays, only fifty adults count themselves among the radical Sons of Freedom. Many former members of this sect have joined with the Reformed Doukhobor element which, though perhaps more conservative than most Orthodox adherents, also frown on violence. Since the 1930s the total number of zealots from western Canada involved in criminal activities has been about three hundred (Schmidt 1986) but similar unsettling activities have continued sporadically to this day.

Clearly the Doukhobor experience in Canada demonstrates cultural discrimination of the worst kind. Without any serious investigation by national authorities it was assumed that with the absence of a formalized, *written* body of literature, their way of life was void of cultural content. When elements of it *were* identified, it was immediately assumed that their culture was inferior to that of the emerging dominant Canadian lifestyle and must be eradicated. Unfortunately, the school was charged with this mandate, and with the entrenched Doukhobor attitude towards formal institutions firmly intact, the result was most disastrous for both parties (Friesen 1983). The one institution that offered hope for the fostering of tolerance and intercultural understanding became a weapon of oppression and misunderstanding, creating hurt and apprehensions which exist to this day.

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THE DOUKHOBORS AND JAPAN

by

Kensei Yoshida

Immediately before and after the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian Doukhobors and their strong belief in pacifism caught the imagination of a small number of Japanese pacifists and intellectuals. To a large extent, this interest had been generated by Lev Tolstoy's sympathetic writings about their heroic pacifism and their ensuing persecution by the authorities and by his personal involvement in their subsequent emigration out of Russia. The life of the Doukhobors in Canada, however, received only fleeting attention in Japan, such as when bombings and nude parades tickled journalistic curiosity.

The period from the late 1890s to the 1920s, when various Japanese socialists, Christians and pacifists desperately sought an alternative to their country's increasingly oppressive political and social order, marked the height of Tolstoyan and Doukhoborian popularity in Japan. Pacifism, however, was quickly suppressed by the emerging militarism which virtually silenced any socialist or pacifist voices. Pacifist movements were revived after World War II, but Japanese no longer turned to the Doukhobors, Quakers or other "foreign" pacifist groups for their inspiration; nor did they seem much interested in the concept of absolute pacifism.

It would be fair to say that, in Japan, interest in the Doukhobors, either historically or regarding their present situation in Russia or Canada, has been marginal. The only book about the Doukhobors in Japanese,[1] was first published in 1965 and has sold fewer then 10,000 copies, including the most recent edition, printed in 1979. It is mostly historical, dealing with the Doukhobors in Canada only in the appendix (translation of an article in the *Encyclopedia Canadiana* and an excerpt from Alexandra Tolstoy's *Tolstoy: A Life of My Father*). No serious "eye-witness" account of the life of the Doukhobors in Canada appeared until 1980 when I wrote about them on the basis of two previous visits to Grand Forks, B.C.[2] This was followed by various papers and articles by Prof. Takeshi Sakon.[3]

It appears that Japanese intellectuals first learned of the Doukhobors in 1897 by way of a brief unsigned article in a special summer supplement of the magazine Hansei Zasshi which printed excerpts of an account by Vladimir Chertkov originally published in the New Century Review. This article appeared several months after Chertkov, I.M. Tregubov and Paul Biryukov, with a preface by Lev Tolstoy, circulated the pamphlet "Appeal for Help" which described the "terrible cruelty" that had befallen several hundred Doukhobors in the Caucasus. The Japanese magazine likely picked up one of the reports by Chertkov who went to England after the "Appeal for Help" caused a great sensation in St. Petersburg.

Adopting the Chinese characters Tan (meaning "steeling" or "cultivating"), Shin ("mind" or "spirit"), and Kyo ("teaching" or "faith") for the Russian term *dukhobortsi* with Japanese characters "Dzukoborusuchi" printed alongside for pronunciation purposes, the article noted that Chertkov discussed in his account the "direst distress" being suffered by Doukhobors in ice-bound Siberia at the hands of the (Russian) government. It described Doukhoborism as being similar in principle to Quakerism, adding that its deepest belief lies in the concepts of mutual love and communal life. After translating a passage from Chertkov's account of babies crying from hunger and their parents suffering from biting cold and starvation, the article accused the Russians of hypocrisy, for being "sympathetic towards the Armenians being tormented by the Turks while letting their compatriots who believed in the essence of Christianity suffer so badly."[4]

Lev Tolstoy had been already known to the leading Japanese literati from as early as 1890 when the magazine *Kokumin-no-Tomo* carried a comprehensive introduction to both Tolstoy and Turgenev, followed by a series of articles on Tolstoy's works. In 1896 the publisher of this magazine, Soho Tokutomi, visited Tolstoy at Yasnaya Polyana where they exchanged views about, among other things, Christianity and the looming war between Japan and Russia.[5]

In 1899 a column in the literary magazine *Taiyo* noted that Tolstoy who had declared himself to be a world citizen quoted Christ's teachings to argue against compulsory military service, describing how 20,000 *dukhobortsi* had adopted these teachings and departed Russia for "America."[6] Two months later, another Japanese magazine carried a translation of Tolstoy's letter in the *Independent* (New York) concerning the First Hague Conference in which he referred to the Russian persecution of the Doukhobors and their forced emigration to Canada. Tolstoy pointed to the hypocrisy of Russian authorities who had encouraged world leaders to attend the conference while so severely dealing with the peace-loving elements at home. (The conference was called at the invitation of Tsar Nicholas II.)[7]

Not surprisingly, it was due to Tolstoy's fame as a writer and pacifist that led a small group of Japanese intellectuals and social activists (many of them Tolstoyans) to first become interested in the Doukhobors. Their interest had been further stimulated by the period's rapid industrialization and social discontent which had begun to plague Japan as the country tried to catch up with the Western powers. At the same time, Russia and Japan were on a collision course over Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula, eventually resulting in the outbreak of war in early 1904.

Although for many years Tolstoy remained one of the most popular authors in Japan, particularly among socialists, Christians and students, his pacifist views failed to generate much interest beyond a small minority of literati and their followers. Among those who showed early and genuine interest in the Doukhobors were members of the Heiminsha, a socialist society founded in 1903 by Shusui Kotoku and Toshihiko Sakai. They had earlier quit another newspaper in opposition to its editorial turnaround in favour of war with Russia. Kotoku was one of the six founding members of the Democratic Socialist Party which in 1901 announced a manifesto pledging to "expand the principle of universal brotherhood of man irrespective of racial and political differences" and work for "complete abolition of arms" for world peace. Heiminsha, through its weekly newspaper, *Heimin Shimbun*, advocated absolute pacifism (even denouncing "unavoidable" violence) and carried a number of articles about the pacifist ideals and ordeals of the Doukhobors as related by Tolstoy. Three weeks before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, for example, an article in the newspaper advised its readers to "stop preventing your conscience from coming out. Like the Doukhobors, make your conscience the only yardstick for judging everything, particularly when discussing (the matters of) the state and the military."[8] To the editors of the *Heimin Shimbun,* even Tolstoy's pacifism seemed too compromising, however. Having reprinted in full his *London Times* article "Bethink Thyself," they criticized his failure to call for the overthrow of capitalism.[9] Apparently the editors were as ideological as they were pacifistic.

Perhaps the most comprehensive introduction to Doukhoborism in Japan was published in the June 1904 issue of the magazine *Taiyo.* In a lengthy article entitled "A Russian Religion That Has Declared Pacifism by Burning Weapons", Roan Uchida discussed the pacifist beliefs of the "Zuuhoboa" and described in detail the burning of weapons, Matvei Lebedev's trial and Tolstoy's offer of financial assistance. After visiting Tolstoy in 1906, Uchida translated his *Resurrection* into Japanese and, in the preface, gave a detailed account of how Tolstoy had decided to complete this novel and rescued "these hard-working people... whose faith in Christ's teaching of 'non-resistance' " had brought "thousands of them to the brink of starvation " if not death.[10] Uchida also published a series of eleven articles about the Doukhobors in the newspaper, *Yomiuri Shimbun,* outlining their origins, beliefs, refusal of military service, Tolstoy's strenuous efforts to solve their plight, and their emigration to Canada.[11]

In 1918, novelist Saneatsu Mushakoji, another Tolstoyan who would write a biography of his mentor in 1936, including several short chapters on the Doukhobors, established a communal village in Miyagi Prefecture in southern Japan. The Atarashiki Mura (New Village), originally with about twenty members, was designed to be a utopian farming community based on a harmony of mutual love, brotherhood, labour, social justice and cultural creativity. Mushakoji preached that sincerity, mutual respect and love for peace were the principles necessary for achieving his ideal of the "god's kingdom" on earth.[12] There remain several such communes across Japan with a combined membership of less than one hundred residents. The concept was apparently influenced by socialism, Christianity and Tolstoyanism. But in Mushokoji's words, it embraced none of them entirely: the New Village was an experiment seeking to transcend them all in order to create a symbiotic community supported not by any established ideology, religion or idealism, but by following free, cooperative, self-fulfilling way of life. Nor was it a Doukhoborian village, although the two appeared similar in some respects. While Mushokoji was opposed to any war, whether between nations or classes, pacifism was not the main staple of his philosophy, nor did he advocate the refusal of military service (its members fought in World War II without any visible resistance). He believed in universal love based upon Christianity and spiritual cooperation, but the canon of his beliefs lay more in the concept of "mutual sincerity" and "life deserving of human quality." A more obvious difference was that the New Village was founded and principally financed, initially at least, by Mushakoji himself as a cultural, self-enlightened movement among like-minded people. And it included some highly intellectual members who later became novelists, playwrights and publishers. Community members were not particularly encouraged to be vegetarians, either.

In the 1920s and 30s, some socialist and Christian leaders, such as Senji Yamamoto and Toyohiko Kagawa led unsuccessful protest movements against Japan's military expansionism. Many of these movements were ideologically motivated. Ko Makimura (real name: Toyomichi Yoshida), for example, who had been expelled from school for opposing the military training program and once distributed an anti-war leaflet on a military base, supported the Chinese people's armed registance to Japan.[13]

In fact, absolute pacifism for religious or conscientious, as opposed to ideological or personal, reasons had been extremely rare in Japan. Even Kanzo Uchimura, one of the leading Christian-pacifists in Japan, supported

Japan's war with China in 1884 (as would most Japanese Christian and other religious leaders during World War II), although he later advocated the complete abolition of war. A noteworthy exception was Todaisha, the Japanese chapter of the Watchtower Society or Jehovah's Witnesses, whose loyal members under Junzo Akashi refused to bear arms after being conscripted. This resulted in 130 men being arrested and interrogated in 1939.[14] Todaisha was an exception among the various religious organizations which had voluntarily or involuntarily pledged to support the state's war efforts. There were other individuals who resisted conscription, returned weapons or refused to fire at the enemy on religious, psychological or conscientious grounds.[15]

Japanese writings about the Doukhobors re-appeared after the end of World War II, but always in connection with Tolstoy. Kyuichiro Hara, for example, devoted one chapter entitled "The God's Kingdom" to the Doukhobors in his 1949 biography of Tolstoy.[16] Hara also translated all four volumes of Paul Biryukov's *Biografia L'va Nikolaevicha Tolstogo* (Moscow, 1923) into Japanese in the late 1960s.[17] The book contains a number of detailed references to Tolstoy's, Biryukov's and other Tolstoyans' relations with the Doukhobors.

Not all comments about the Doukhobors have been positive. An article in the April 1972 issue of the magazine, *Shokun*, drawing on Simma Holt's *Terror in the Name of God* (1964) and various magazine articles in the United States, depicted them as violent "nude-parading" war-resisters.[18] Up to that point, it was perhaps the only major account in Japan about the Doukhobors in Canada.

The description was rebutted by Ki Kimura in the preface to the new edition of his book, *Douhoboru Kyoto no Hanaski* (A Story of the Doukhobors), in 1979. As mentioned earlier, however, this book, important though it was, ended with the emigration of the Doukhobors out of Russia and referred only briefly to their life in Canada.

Interest in the Canadian Doukhobors seems to have been revived by my account mentioned above. (My first visit to Grand Forks, B.C., was arranged with the help of George Woodcock.) According to Prof. Sakon of the Osaka City University, this represented the first primary observation of the life of the Doukhobors in Canada by a Japanese, provided many useful facts about them, and "successfully gave a new portrayal of them." It also made him, a specialist in Russian history, become aware of the Russian-language publication, *Iskra*, published by the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ (U.S.C.C.). Coincidentally, in the same year, Sakon published a paper entitled "Faith, State, War: Doukhobors in Russia" and gave a paper on the subject at the annual conference of the Japanese Association of Russian Literature. His interest inspired him to visit Doukhobor communities in Canada in 1986 and to write various other papers including "Canadian Doukhobors and the Soviet Union", a brief history of research on the Doukhobors in Japan and abroad and a related 99-page annotated bibliography of foreign-language materials.[19]

To conclude, most Japanese intellectuals have focussed on the Doukhobors from the perspective of their connection with Lev Tolstoy and his pacifist views. The pacifism and persecution of the Doukhobors was reported in various, mostly socialist, publications. But the degree of influence that these articles had in Japan beyond a small circle of sympathizers is questionable. Interest in the Doukhobors living in Canada is also very limited, although recent articles and papers may increase awareness among pacifists, Christians and intellectuals.

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THE DOUKHOBOR HOMESTEAD CRISIS, 1898-1907

by
Kathlyn Szalasznyj

Saskatchewan was a place with a future in 1905. For many it was a promising place in which to build a home. Growing political maturity, culminating in the formation of the new province, raised many questions about provincial society and the ways in which its needs would be met. Clearly, "more" was a key superlative: more central homesteads, more roads, more railways, more bridges, more school districts and improved education were just a few critical concerns facing the young province in its first year.

There was another concern, one which flew in the face of the politician, the immigration official, the land agent, the farmer and the rancher, and drew hot and diverse opinions far beyond Saskatchewan's borders. It was termed "the Doukhobor issue", a fiery ethnic matter that involved over several hundred thousand acres of good prairie land, almost entirely in Saskatchewan, and Russian group settlers, who occupied the land but refused to obey the laws of the Dominion.

Public opinion tended to express the matter simply. Religious group settlers had arrived before the turn of the century, had been given a generous outlay of reserve land from which to select homesteads, and had been accommodated in their every request, including military exemption and communal residence. Six years later, their progress toward becoming Canadians, loyal British subjects and owners of the lands for which they had at last reluctantly signed, was practically non-existent. Refusing to take a stake and interest in Canada, their peculiar ways were more firmly entrenched than before and their leader, Peter Vasilevich Verigin, was the "King Bee" of a growing agricultural theocracy, with no regard for the rights and freedoms of the individual Doukhobor. How much longer could "these favoured children of the Department of the Interior" be allowed to tie up valuable central homestead lands and to perpetuate Little Russia on the prairie, with no interest in the development of local schools, churches or towns and or in the Canadian political process? One prairie editorial writer of the time stated it thus:

> The Department of the Interior knows better than anyone else that somebody, they know who, got a good haul out of the treasury of Canada, which was cheerfully paid. A chronic "koff" almost became epidemic in this country then, and there is a peculiar value attached to

> a "koff" or a little "off" to one's name today. Such attachments make it easy to get in "on the groundfloor" in the land scramble, since yet it is only Russians who need apply?[1]

As suggested above, the Doukhobor issue centred mainly on the lands upon which the Doukhobors lived. Still owned by the Crown long after the "ordinary" homesteader would have received patent, the Doukhobors still could not decide if they wished to become Canadian landowners. By 1905, land hunger in central homesteading parts and a growing backlash toward the government that brought the Doukhobors west demanded a speedy resolution to this problem. In accordance, in the following year, the new Minister of the Interior, Frank Oliver, who succeeded Clifford Sifton, appointed a commission to investigate Doukhobor lands and to bring the Doukhobor issue to a speedy conclusion.

From the Doukhobor perspective, the issue at hand was considerably different. Initial concessions from the Canadian authorities and the creation of the reserve of land were accepted by them on their arrival, but past experience dictated a wary existence with the state. What would the laws of Canada require of them? Over a dozen Doukhobor sympathizers across the globe had helped to negotiate an initial deal for Verigin's suffering religious people, a deal about which the Doukhobors knew extremely little. Homesteads of sixty *desiatini* in the Russian measure seemed generous. The Doukhobors were assured that block settlement was legally sanctioned by a cooperative farming and a hamlet clause in the Dominion Lands Act, but it was hardly what the Doukhobors later described as the desire to "live as one farm." Instead the Doukhobor reserve provided for the development of four or five colonies throughout the West, generally settlements of under one thousand inhabitants, thus selected in order that the Doukhobor men might obtain employment on incoming railroads more readily and that, as the immigration officials openly stated, the Doukhobors might be "more rapidly Canadianized."[2]

Scrubbing and clearing, the Doukhobors made substantial material progress, proving their initial reputation as keen agriculturalists. In the beginning there were many problems impeding the orderly taking of lands, but the Doukhobors knew the majority of them were not of their making.

The Doukhobor reserve, a bare outline around almost unknown townships in 1899, was subject to considerable changes in its early years, shunting Doukhobor holdings back and forth. Oddly, land agents could not agree whether the Doukhobors were to possess all lands in each township or only the even-numbered ones, as in ordinary townships available for homesteading. While the North and South Reserves included all lands, Doukhobors on the Prince Albert Reserve were only allowed to settle on the even-numbered lands. Numerous village houses built upon arrival were later found to be on odd-numbered, railway lands and even outside the reserve, through no fault of the group settlers. Throughout the summer of 1901, the villages of Bogdanovka and Tikhomirnoe of the North Colony petitioned to be included in the reserve: "We are very sorry we did not know this before, as no one explained anything about it to us and now it is a year ago since we began to work the ground."[3]

Two townships lacked water and were too heavily treed for settlement and another two overlapped with the Coté Indian Reserve. Five townships had been withdrawn for a sinister reason: because of the adverse opinion of ranchers, farmers and squatters toward the Doukhobors. Ranchers disliked the settlers for their fences. Others thought their insular ways hindered the normal social and economic development of districts and were quick to exhibit their prejudice against these "alien and servile Slav serfs of Europe, who are one degree above the monkey for civilization...."[4] By 1900, there were reports of ranchers tearing down Doukhobor fences and driving cattle into their crops.

The early years in Canada proved that there were wide disparities in the Doukhobor understanding of landowning and village life, disparities that were not so apparent on arrival. Initially, communal holding of land, labour and capital was the general rule, imposed largely by difficult economic conditions in the settlements. Soon cracks in the communal model appeared. There were totally communalistic villages, such as Blagodarnoe in the South Colony, where "...everything to the last needle was held in common."[5] In contrast, the Prince Albert colony Doukhobors showed a great willingness to take lands as ordinary settlers and to reside on homesteads. By September, 1899 ninety-seven Doukhobors had applied for lands, anxious for choice quarters in the district.

Between the two extremes lay the majority of settlers, which tried to interpret Canadian land law in the light of Peter Vasilevich Verigin's latest letters from exile. He said little about property-holding, but instructed the settlers not to build large buildings or to immerse themselves in husbandry, which suggested they might move again. Yet during the winter of 1899, Herbert Archer, a local immigration agent and J.S. Crerar, Dominion Land Agent at Yorkton, were able to complete lists of homesteaders in the North and South Reserves and to determine their potential land locations. Unfortunately, due to an oversight, the lists were not acted upon by the land agents until several critical issues preventing Doukhobor entry had emerged.

Could one hold land privately, live apart from the community and still be a Doukhobor? The "Independent" sector believed one could. The Communal Doukhobor, with the assistance of Russian ideologues living among them, held the opposite opinion. He saw the independent brethren falling to the temptations of greed and individualism. If property-holding was the temptation, then the Dominion that offered it was the tempter: compliance with the ordinances of the state could only signal spiritual decline.

The Dominion census of 1901 added fuel to the debate, as census-takers extracted information relating to families and their ages. At least three villages, Petrovka, Troudenia [Trudolubivoe] and Pozaraevka, petitioned for exclusion from this fourth census of the Dominion, writing that "...we now know that we have been written up in police-books, which we do not want."[6]

Coincidentally, a chiding letter from Lev Tolstoy, whose strong support had so assisted their emigration from Russia, rebuked those who had taken homestead entry, insisting that "if a man acknowledges himself to be a son of God, from that acknowledgement flows the love of his neighbour, the repudiation of violence, of oaths, of state service and of property."[7]

As land officials pursued the subject of homestead entry, it became clear to the Doukhobors that a separate issue, that of communal cultivation as a means of making improvements on their lands, had yet to be resolved. The Doukhobors generally cultivated lands within a six-mile radius of their villages, with hay meadows and grazing lands held in common, much as they had done under the *mir* landholding system in Russia. Would this cultivation be accepted in place of the cultivation regulations of the Dominion Lands Act, namely, fifteen acres on each quarter-section, usually completed within a three-year period from the date of entry?

To the Doukhobors, communal cultivation was a natural part of operating "as one farm," their request upon arrival in Canada. The Lands Branch did not think so. Numerous meetings and much correspondence finally resolved the issue, at least for the time. Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior who had negotiated the Doukhobors' original agreement with the Canadian government , officially expressed homestead policy as it pertained to the Doukhobors in a letter of 15 February 1901:

> And I have decided that those who will take their homesteads and accept of free land from the Government may live together in one or more villages, and instead of being compelled to cultivate each quarter-section held by each Doukhobor, that the land around the village itself may be cultivated and the work which otherwise would

> be required on each individual homestead may be done altogether around the village.

Sifton stressed that only Doukhobors applying for lands would be allowed to live in villages, clearly tying the cultivation concession to the larger and more immediate issue of homestead entry.

The divisive nature of Sifton's concession was clearly upsetting to the Doukhobors. It threatened to end any semblance of a unified Doukhobor existence, as only homestead entrants and their families could remain in the villages. Outside of a small number of entrants gained at the Prince Albert Dominion Land office, the Doukhobors adamantly refused to enter for homesteads, asking instead to buy lands outrightly at ten dollars a quarter-section.

Verigin arrived in Canada on the heels of this debate and on that of the first pilgrimage of "zealots," numbering approximately 1800, who had repudiated all property and the enslaving of animals. He did not disappoint the Lands Branch, spending his first two months dealing with the question of landholding. For the first time on record, another key issue, that of taking an oath of allegiance in order to become British subjects, was discussed at length in relation to homesteading. Whether affirmed or sworn, oath-taking was a serious issue to the Doukhobors, who had suffered much persecution in Russia over it.

Upon inquiring of the regulations and questioning the Lands Branch closely, Verigin urged the Doukhobors to sign for lands without delay. Several years lay between entry and the time of patent, when the oath would have to be faced. Perhaps he realized that homestead entry, in itself, did not constitute placing one's seal of ownership upon the land, especially if the entry was accomplished by a proxy committee. During March and April, 1903, entries were made for over two thousand homesteaders, representing a total of 281,660 acres in northeastern Saskatchewan and 141,140 acres in central areas. Unused reserve lands would be held until the end of the year to accommodate changes and minors. The Doukhobor reserve finally came to an end on December 15, 1904, making over 100,000 acres at Yorkton and nearly 150,000 acres in Prince Albert available.

The new era of material prosperity under Verigin's leadership that followed him in from 1903 to 1905 was not without its problems. Many of them were tied to the land issue. Verigin's plan to bring all obedient followers together in the Yorkton-Swan River area was questioned by the Lands Branch, particularly when it appeared that incorrect names had been affixed to proxy entries in preparation for resettlement. Independents accused Verigin of tampering with the homestead entries of forty independent Doukhobors by not informing them of pending inspection of their lands.

A detailed inspection of all Doukhobor lands would help to clarify existing irregularities and also soothe public opinion. In the light of changing demographic situation in Saskatchewan, such a measure was justifiable. Doukhobor holdings, by 1904, could be considered old lands in the heart of settlement, as the recently-constructed Canadian Northern railway line through Canora to Langham brought more settlers and lands speculators in the vicinity of the Doukhobor lands. A barrage of letters to the Lands Branch indicated that many potential homesteaders were eagerly watching Doukhobor lands, prepared to file claims for inspection on lands not being cleared.

Two special investigations of Doukhobor lands came in the summer and fall of 1905, preparing the way for the Commission a year later. The first was made "to see that no member of the community was intimidated or suffering in any way from any hardship from the fact that he may have decided to secede from the community and establish himself along independent lines."[8] A team of homestead inspectors, including J. Seale, D.C. McNab, J.B. White and J.S. Gibson, spent several weeks touring the Doukhobor villages and recording cultivated acres, eligible homesteads and economic assets. What conclusions did these investigators reach? Doukhobor industry aside, Speers' report stated:

> The individual homesteader has never been impressed with his rights as a settler [or] his independence as an individual. Peter Verigin and the Community have controlled all earnings, all revenues, all incomes from all sources and this ruling has been considered absolute. I would recommend that the individual homesteader be impressed with his own independence and also his individual rights, and that some kind of receipt or the interim homestead receipt be given to him personally.[9]

They also found too many entrants for the size of the community, too many lands reserved for minors and over one hundred irregularities in the age category of homesteaders. Although they could not take issue with the number of acres cultivated per communal entrant, as the community Doukhobors had cultivated more than the required fifteen acres per entrant, the inspectors were quick to point out that the independent sector had cultivated even more. The Independents were "...the very best material out of which to make citizens superior to most of the foreigners finding homes in our land in intelligence, industry, aspirations and work accomplished."[10] More importantly, the independent Doukhobors were "...rapidly absorbing Canadian sentiments and dropping notions peculiar to them."[11]

The McDougall Commission, that was to bring the Doukhobor land issue to its final conclusion, set about its work in the summer of 1906 in a brisk and efficient manner, informing Doukhobors that the "government was re-arranging its own lands."[12] Its first itinerary covered 1,200 miles, beginning in the Good Spirit area, then moving in a northwest direction to Buchanan, eastward to Canora, Verigin and Pelly, on to Swan River and finally, to the far western stretches of the Langham and Prince Albert lands. Its purpose was to record economic assets, inspect cultivation, take census, record homestead entrants and their whereabouts. Ideologically, the Commission was "...to discuss with the Doukhobors present their experience with and attitude towards this country, the Government and things in general."[13]

The Doukhobors greeted the Commission with traditional, kind hospitality, and gave no indication of ill feeling toward McDougall. In the fall of 1906 Verigin met with the Minster of the Interior to discuss the cancellation of minors' homesteads and to try to obtain lands for communal Doukhobors from Prince Albert who wished to move to eastern lands. He also needed a letter of recommendation from Oliver for his coming trip to Russia, one purpose of which was to try to secure Russian workers for the building of western Canadian railways. There is no record that the work of the McDougall Commission was even discussed at that time.

The first official report of the McDougall Commission of 25 November 1906 traced the root of all Doukhobor difficulties to their "abject communism" which resulted in "extreme passivity and lethargy."[14] It blamed Verigin's one-man leadership and an economic system that kept superstitious and illiterate followers in isolated villages. While McDougall had to admit that communal entrants had cultivated an average of 21.8 acres, he complained that their fields were not symmetrical and that they had cleared the easiest land. McDougall concluded that Doukhobor homesteads, still Crown property, should be subject to stringent homesteading rules regarding cultivation and residence. Obtaining patent for any *bona fide* homesteads would have to be based on ordinary conditions as he considered "...these people are even as others and subject to the same law."[15] He made no allowance for Sifton's letter of concession regarding communal cultivation. Doukhobors not complying fully with existing homestead legislation were to have their homesteads cancelled. They would have an opportunity to re-enter for lands in the regular way. However, any

Doukhobor not proceeding towards naturalization or compliance with the definition of the "vicinity of residence" would have to be resettled on new reservation containing seventeen to twenty acres of land per capita.

McDougall returned to the Doukhobor villages in 1907 as the Commissioner of Investigation and Adjustor of Land Claims for Doukhobor lands. His first itinerary that year cancelled a total of 2503 Doukhobor claims. It left 136 entries intact. His second itinerary, to establish re-entries for lands, brought a meagre 384 Doukhobor entries, largely made by those who had opted for independence before McDougall's work. A communal population of 8,175 had opted for relocation on the new reserves.

How had the majority of the Doukhobors arrived at their final decision regarding the land? Independently, it seemed, for Peter Verigin was abroad in Russia exploring the possibility of the Doukhobors' return when McDougall first made his rounds. Bulgaria appeared to be another possibility for them or the fruit-growing regions of Canada, which proved their ultimate destination.

Verigin returned to Canada in February 1907. He was strangely silent about the land issue. Perhaps any strong vocal ruling at that time might have been sure evidence of the very "dictatorship" that the Commission was trying to eliminate. It is also possible that he was aware that the resolution of the Doukhobor claims by dismantling the village system was a foregone conclusion.

In the final run, it was the naturalization issue, more than that of cultivation of residence, that met with the most Doukhobor opposition.[16]

> It was always the same case that your Commission thus met. They could not, they would not naturalize.
>
> In vain we told them that our Government had promised them exemption from military service, that Quakers and others had lived for many years in Canada and had never been called on to give military service. They insisted that if they naturalized and became citizens than they would be compelled to go to war.
>
> This they would not do, as some told us [they] "would die first."
>
> When we continued to reason with them they repeatedly told us "we do not want to own the land -- all we want is to be permitted to make a living therein."
>
> And this was the invariable answer of the leaders and representative men of these strange people on the question of land ownership, dependent as it is upon naturalization.

Verigin's reaction regarding the oath was simply, "whether you will take the oath or not, every man must act according to his conscience, but what must be first in our lives is reliance on the will of God in order to live within His law."[17] A meeting of village elders in the village of Terpennie in May 1907 proposed that fifty men could take the oath and the lands could be saved, much as homestead entry had been made by a three-man committee. Verigin addressed them:

> Brothers and sisters, for myself I speak thus: if we take the oath even by having some elderly ones take it, even by this we would separate ourselves from Christ's teaching of two thousand years. But you must see for yourselves.[18]

The Doukhobor lands were opened immediately to settlers, facing such strong demand that only one township a day was released in each Dominion land office. The Lands Branch reported that it was delighted with the class of men receiving lands, who, even in entry, exhibited such will power, endurance and obedience to all rules. The land office staffs provided another perspective, as windows were smashed by those in line for lands and firehouses were turned on crowds. In many cases, land speculators catalyzed much of the action. Royal North-West Mounted Police inspector, Christen Junget, confessed that holding the mobs back was a nightmarish task:

> I have never experienced a meaner job that this. Only the small percentage of those struggling for positions who get in are satisfied and pleased, the rest feel hurt and do not hesitate to trump up charges of any description against the police. This makes the work extremely difficult and discouraging.[19]

A new reserve consisting of 766 quarter-sections in total was established for the communal Doukhobors. No claims for improvements were made relating to the lands lost in 1907, an estimated $682,000 worth of cultivation, clearing and crops.[20] Yet, new entrants were required to pay the Lands Branch for improvements that had been made on the property they acquired.

The Doukhobor reserve created in 1907 lasted only a decade. As the last of the communal Doukhobors left for British Columbia, the Doukhobor homesteading era closed.

Much has happened since the Doukhobors had turned their first furrow in 1899. Eastern and western land-use systems clashed. In an empty prairie, there was room for compromise. As the West filled, *mir* and homestead systems found themselves in full conflict, especially when public opinion was so adversely fixed on the village system that was the foundation of Verigin's rule.

The Doukhobor homestead crisis said much about the settlers Canada had accepted in 1898-1899. They were a complex people and subject to differences among themselves. The land question mirrored the emergency of three different Doukhobor ideals regarding landowning: the Community believed the land could be for its use but not for personal ownership; the Independents saw no conflict between being private farmers, Canadians and Doukhobors; and the Freedomites or Zealots, a small but ever-present group by 1907, would not consent to use the land, let alone to own it.

The land issue also said a great deal about the workings and misworkings of the Department of the Interior as well. In the context of the broader demographic scene, the McDougall Commission's recommendations and actions were probably inevitable. The government could simply not afford to offer concessions to one group of settlers while others waited eagerly for lands.

In the broader light, it must be admitted that homestead regulations were enforced to the letter for all by 1906. Proxy entry was eliminated. 15,000 entries that had been granted prior to June 1902 and for which patent had not been obtained, were inspected and cleared. Seven inspectors were employed in Saskatchewan to investigate irregularities regarding railway lands and to pressure railway companies to complete their selections. Maps showing available quarters were revised and posted daily.

Numerous mistakes and miscommunications by Lands Branch officials clearly added fuel to the land issue. Local land agent, Herbert Archer, of Swan River was horrified by the mistakes made by the Department of the Interior in connection with the Doukhobor lands, particularly the even-odd controversy over the early reserve, stating: "...if such a very serious blunder has been made by the Interior, the effect will be very bad."

Many questions remain unanswered. Why was the list of Doukhobor homesteaders compiled in 1900 never filed? Why were the Doukhobors' special farming conditions never recognized on paper? Their proxy homestead entries were made in the standard way, using ordinary forms, even though local land agents inquired whether the Lands Branch would issue special forms to reflect the Doukhobors' special farming conditions. Later, Lands Branch officials wrote: "... they made entry on the ordinary forms, and these forms were accepted, and their entries stook in the book against lands subject to the ordinary homestead conditions."[21]

The prairie "Doukhobor issue" had been resolved to the satisfaction of the Canadian public. A measure had been meted - not of quarter-sections and acres cleared - but of the extent to which Canada would or could allow its landholding system and social value to be challenged by "ethnic peculiarities." From the Doukhobor perspective, the land issue confirmed their attitude toward the state: as brief sojourners in a temporal land, they would continue to seek the kingdom of God within and prepare for whatever adversities might lie ahead.

Endnotes

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THE DOUKHOBOR CHALLENGE TO CANADIAN LIBERTIES

by

William Janzen

The Doukhobors have challenged the system of Canadian liberties. They arrived in Canada with a desire to follow a particular way of life. In some respects their desired way of life was similar to that of Hutterites, Mennonites and other religious groups. In other respects the Doukhobors were different, in need of broader liberties. This article analyses their governmental encounters on three issues: land-holding, education, and military service. On each issue they needed special accommodations from Canada's federal and provincial governments. At certain points these governments responded positively. At other points they were harshly restrictive. The fluctuations and restrictions had serious implications for the Doukhobors. They also reveal some of the underlying factors that shape Canadian liberties.

Communal Land-holding

Approximately 7500 Doukhobors came to Canada early in 1899. Before they arrived, their representatives made several requests of the Canadian government. One request was for block settlement arrangements. The federal government agreed to this in October 1898 when it reserved several large blocks of land in the territory soon to be known as the province of Saskatchewan.[1] Despite the government's action reserving blocks of land for the Doukhobors, difficulties soon appeared. According to the homestead law, individual settlers were to make "entries" for particular quarter sections of land(160 acres), meaning that they had to register their claims. Then they were to take up residence on those quarter sections and cultivate at least a portion of them. After three years the settlers could obtain full legal title for the quarter sections if they were British Subjects. The Doukhobors did not meet the residence requirement. They settled in villages as the Mennonites had done. Officials accepted this but it soon became apparent that they wanted each quarter section registered in the name of an individual. To the Doukhobors this suggested private property and as such raised serious questions.

The Doukhobor tradition had significant communal elements. They debated how to respond to this individual registration requirement. Lev Tolstoy, who had helped to rescue them from persecution in Russia, now wrote: "If you wish to continue in the Christian life... for which you suffered and were exiled...then you must not live as the world lives, each accumulating property separately...property is defended by threat of violence... to acknowledge property is to acknowledge violence."[2] However, the Quakers, who had also given substantial assistance to the Doukhobors, urged them to make individual entries.[3] They argued that the registration process was necessary for the orderly settlement of the West. At one point the Doukhobors asked officials for arrangements similar to those for Indian reservations. The government refused. Indeed, officials threatened to take all the land back.

The problem had several dimensions. Administratively, it was somewhat complex. According to the homestead law, if the minimum cultivation requirements (15 acres), were not being met on a particular homestead then the "entry" could be replaced by another. But under the communal cultivation arrangements, to which Sifton had agreed, officials would have to use an unusual procedure to prove that the minimum cultivation requirements had not been met. They would have to measure the Doukhobors' total cultivated acreage and divide it by their number of "entries". Administrative complexity, however, was only one factor. Many other settlers were now coming into the area. Their interest in the lands reserved for the Doukhobors was growing . Also, in 1905 Sifton was replaced by a less sympathetic minister, the Hon. Frank Oliver. He authorized a series of investigations and eventually rationalized a drastic abrogation of Sifton's commitments.

In the first investigation, carried out in the summer of 1905 by C.W. Speers, he reported that the Doukhobors probably had a "right to cultivate in block" but that Verigin had too much control over the people. Speers said: "The individual homesteader has never been impressed with his rights as a settler nor his independence as an individual."[4] A second and more detailed study, done in the fall of 1905 by one Mr. McNab, praised the Doukhobors as being, "superior to most of the foreigners finding homes on our land in intelligence, industry, aspirations and ambitions as evidenced by enterprises undertaken and work accomplished...."[5] Nevertheless, McNab hoped that they would gradually move away from their communalism. The third investigation, by John McDougall, a Protestant clergyman from Alberta, was mandated to make recommendations for a final solution of the Doukhobor land issues.

McDougall was more negative in his judgements. He said that the Doukhobor reserves were "a most serious... impediment to the... growth of the country" and a "serious injustice to the general public." He was sharply critical of the Doukhobors' communalism, stating that "all influences traditional and sectarian have been brought to bear on this people for the purpose of securing an abject communism under and subject to an absolute one man power."[6] He referred to illiteracy, superstition, passivity and lethargy.

McDougall's proposals, which soon became government policy, were drastic. The "entries" made on a communal basis should be cancelled. Those Doukhobors who might then wish to make "entries" on an individual basis for lands in the original reserves should be given three months to do so. For those who would not do so the government should establish new reserves around each village, but only in the amount of 17-20 acres per person. These reserves would be held "during the government's pleasure" with no provision for eventual Doukhobor ownership.[7] As such, the plan removed the question of how to deal with the Doukhobors' unwillingness to become British Subjects.

When this plan became known, Toronto Professor James Mavor, who had been involved in the initial negotiations for the Doukhobors, wrote to Prime Minister Laurier and called it a "very serious breach of faith."[8] A Doukhobor delegation went to Ottawa, met with Oliver and pointed out that with their recently acquired machinery they were rapidly cultivating more and more land and that they had, in fact, already cultivated more that the minimum amount required by law. They said that their critics were mainly local business people who resented their self-reliance. They also asked about the government's assurances of freedom of religion, saying that for them holding land communally was a matter of faith.[9] To this Oliver replied: "The giving of public land is not a matter of religion but of law and fair play... I have to deal with all the people in the same way."[10]

Oliver prepared an elaborate memorandum to the Cabinet and gained government approval for the plan. Notices then went to the Doukhobors in both English and Russian.[11] But few changed their minds. As a result, in the Spring of 1907, over 2500 entries, representing some 400,000 acres, were cancelled. Of this about 32% was taken up for the new reserves. Another 15% went to those Doukhobors who opted for individual homesteads.[12] The rest then became available to an eager public. Clearly, the government had reversed itself. At first it had extended a broad liberty to the Doukhobors but the government's commitment proved unreliable. The context had changed. For the Doukhobors the effects were far-reaching. Between 1909 and 1913 many moved to British Columbia.

School Controversies

The Doukhobors came to Canada with an ambivalent attitude toward schooling. Schooling had not been emphasized in their tradition, in part because most schools in Russia were controlled by the Orthodox Church, with which they disagreed, and perhaps also because their faith in "the God within" made formal schooling less important. Nevertheless, in Canada they were encouraged to send their children to school though there was, as yet, no compulsory attendance law. The Independent Doukhobors, meaning those who had broken away, favoured schooling and soon made impressive progress.[13] Others, claimed that schools were the root of militarism. Nevertheless, those Doukhobors who stayed in Saskatchewan gradually accepted public schools though in 1929 there were some incidents of resistance.

The Doukhobors who moved to British Columbia in 1909 also cooperated at first. They sent their children to public school and served on the school board. A teacher spoke highly of their attitude.[14] Nevertheless, in 1912, in the first of several interruptions, the Doukhobors withdrew their children. The reason was that five Doukhobors had been imprisoned for failing to register a death. The Doukhobors felt that births, marriages and deaths were not the business of governments. This withdrawal of their children, together with a growing public concern about Doukhobor "separateness", prompted the British Columbia government to appoint a royal commission to be led by William Blackmore, a local newspaper editor.[15]

Blackmore visited the Doukhobors and was warmly received. His report praised them for their diligence and industry. They had built up extensive enterprises for growing and processing fruit and their commercial markets were expanding rapidly. On the question of registering of births, deaths and marriages, Blackmore reported that they wanted to remain "unmolested in their communal life" and untied to any earthly government, and that they feared that registration would lead to military conscription. On schooling he reported three basic Doukhobor objections: that education in public schools led to militarism; that it had little practical value; and that it nurtured competition and alienation and thus worked against communal life.[16]

Blackmore recommended that the Doukhobors be encouraged to obey the laws but that the government not take drastic steps to force compliance. He felt that a compromise could be reached on the registration issue and that for schooling some Russian teachers should be employed and the curriculum modified. Strangely, Blackmore also recommended that the promise of exemption from military service be cancelled.[17] This was most disturbing to the Doukhobors as were other governmental actions at the time. A program of military drill and rifle training was introduced in public schools. Officials exhumed Doukhobor bodies and raided Doukhobor villages to gain evidence for prosecutions.

Some Doukhobors wrote to Attorney-General Bowser that attempts to force school attendance would be met with massive nude demonstrations. School Inspector, A.E. Miller, cautioned against attempts to enforce attendance and Blackmore continued to counsel moderation in his newspaper editorials. Then, at a 1915 meeting with the Attorney-General a compromise was reached. The Doukhobors would send their children back to school but they would not be required to participate in military training or religious exercises.[18] The resulting peace continued for the duration of World War I (1914-1918). In fact the Doukhobor "Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood" (C.C.U.B.) now constructed nine public schools though Doukhobor attendance was only around 50%. Inspector Miller felt that attempts to force a fuller attendance would be counter productive.

After World War I, when many soldiers returned, and after Inspector Miller had been replaced by a less patient E.G. Daniels, there was a new confrontation. The authorities levied fines to press for fuller attendance. Since the CCUB was legally liable it paid the fines lest its property be taken. But some of the resisters wanted not only to keep their children out of public schools; they wanted to send a message of protest both to the other Doukhobors and to the larger society. Accordingly, they prepared for more drastic action. In 1923 they burned down nine school buildings.[19] Such acts of property destruction, by a minority, represented a new tactic. The C.C.U.B. condemned them. In fact, they stationed guards around the schools to prevent the burnings. But the C.C.U.B. also felt that the authorities were unreasonably zealous in pressing for fuller attendance.

In October 1924 the sense of crisis deepened. The Doukhobor leader, Peter V. Verigin, was killed in a train explosion. This was so upsetting to the Doukhobors, some of whom thought that the government was responsible, that many more now withdrew their children from the public schools.[20] This led the authorities to make massive seizures of C.C.U.B. property. The Doukhobors were at a loss. Then, in 1925, they received word from their new leader, Peter P. Verigin, who was still in Russia, that they should send their children to school.[21] The Doukhobors complied and a three year calm followed. Indeed, the C.C.U.B. Doukhobors now constructed five public school buildings.

While a majority of Doukhobors now accepted public schools, at least at the elementary level, opposition from the Sons of Freedom reappeared intermittently for more than three decades. In 1929 they withdrew their children from school and announced that they would not return. They said: "The present government schools are nurseries of militarism and capitalism."[22] They referred to educated people such as Tolstoy and said they had, "received enlightenment through Spiritual Regeneration, heeding the voice of Christ...." The authorities responded by levying fines. This, in turn, led to acts of property destruction and nude demonstrations to which the authorities would respond with large-scale arrests. In 1929, over 100 were sent to the Oakalla Prison Farm in New Westminster for six months. In 1932 approximately 600 were sent to Pier's Island near Victoria for three years. In 1950 over 400 were in jail.[23]

The Sons of Freedom Doukhobors refused compliance not only with school laws but also with other government regulations. They wanted to "make a statement" against the political order. They combined elements of classical anarchism, destructive nihilism, and religious martyrdom. When the trains taking them to prison pulled out of the Kootenay Valley they would sing the hymns of their persecuted ancestors. The C.C.U.B. Doukhobors were caught in between. They denounced the actions of the Sons of Freedom. Often it was their property that was being destroyed. They had to carry a public stigma. But they also felt that the authorities were unnecessarily zealous. Often, when the Sons of Freedom parents were in prison, the C.C.U.B. parents took care of their children.

Sometimes, the authorities tried less punitive approaches. In 1939 the British Columbia Teachers Federation recommended that "loveable Canadians" be placed among the Doukhobors and that the administration of schools among them be placed in the hands of someone who could adjust the curriculum and take other measures to win their trust.[24] In 1950 the government authorized a sociological inquiry involving a number of University scholars. Unfortunately, this was overtaken by political developments. During these years there were frequent acts of destruction. As a result politicians could gain popularity with a "get tough on the Doukhobors" image.

In 1953 the newly elected Social Credit government took action which brought matters to a certain conclusion. They arrested 148 adults for participating in a nude demonstration and sent them to the Oakalla Prison farm for three years. At the same time they seized 104 children and took them to a dormitory near New Denver.[25] The children attended the town's public school but their evenings and weekends were spent at this dormitory, which had once served as a sanatorium, and was now surrounded by barbed wire.

The arrangement continued for six years. A total of 170 children passed through the New Denver institution. The arrangement attracted considerable negative publicity. On one occasion a Doukhobor women committed suicide by hanging in her home. Beside her was an affectionate note from her nine-year old daughter in New Denver. The government persisted, arguing that it was "the birthright and privilege of every Canadian child to receive an education" and that these Sons of Freedom were withholding this from their children so the government had to force it upon them.[26]

At one point in the New Denver period the Doukhobors lodged a complaint with the United Nations under the Genocide Convention which condemns the transfer of children from one group to another. They also took their concerns to court, arguing that their freedom of religion had been violated. The judge disagreed.[27] Eventually, in 1959, when the parents appeared before a judge and promised to send their children to public school, the children were allowed to return to their homes.

Exemption from Military Service

When the Doukhobors negotiated their immigration terms they received an Order-in-Council from the federal government, dated December 6, 1898, which gave them, "the fullest assurance of absolute immunity from military service." [28] This promise was tested in World War I (1914-1918) and World War II (1939-1945). In the first war the encounter began with a national registration set for the beginning of January 1917. The government said that this was to better promote voluntary recruitment, not as a precursor to conscription, but the Doukhobors, like the Mennonites, were worried.

To discuss their concerns the Doukhobors, like the Mennonites, sent delegations to Ottawa. There, Attorney-General Arthur Meighen assured them that their promise of exemption would be respected.[29] The government also agreed to let Doukhobors register their own people. For their part, the Doukhobors told Meighen that they were supporting the agriculture production campaign as strongly as possible and that they were willing to pay a double measure of taxation in lieu of military service. Some of them also donated money to the government with a request that it be used for victims of war. One accompanying letter stated: "Our faith and conscience will not permit us to take an active part in the strife, but our sympathy and compassion for those who, though innocent and in no wise responsible for the hostilities, have been rendered homeless, indigent and destitute by its progress, bid us to at least share with them the produce of our labour applied to God's soil."[30]

The conscription law, formally known as *The Military Service Act*, was passed in August 1917.[31] It had a provision for conscientious objectors as well as a Schedule of Exceptions one of which stated that the Doukhobors, exempted under the December 6, 1898 Order in Council, had no duty under the Act. (Mennonites covered by an 1873 Order in Council were similarly exempted.) This suggested that the exemption for people in these groups was secure. Nevertheless, to be exempted individuals had to have a certificate signed by a recognized leader of their group. This gave considerable power to people like Peter V. Verigin, leader of the 8000 member C.C.U.B. Verigin was prepared to use that power. He now wrote to the Minister of Justice and urged the government not to exempt the Independent Doukhobors who numbered 4000.[32] The latter , Verigin said, had accepted individual homesteads, become British Subjects, and were living like other Canadians instead of like Doukhobors. Therefore, he said, they would not enjoy the exemption given to Doukhobors. The government rejected Verigin's request saying that it would extend the same exemption to Independent Doukhobors.[33] In addition to this internal dynamic there were a few local administrative problems. There was also considerable public hostility against Doukhobors, Mennonites and others who sought exemptions.

In World War II the conscription law, formally known as the *National Resources Mobilization Act*, was passed by Parliament in June 1940. Again, there was to be a national registration; again, Doukhobors and Mennonites were apprehensive; again they sent delegations to Ottawa; again they were given strong assurances; and again Doukhobor leaders asked for an arrangement to register their own people, saying that many would not cooperate with a registration conducted by the government. At first government officials resisted the idea of a separately conducted registration but after repeated pleas they agreed. As a result, approximately 11000 Doukhobors were registered.[34] Only the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors, who numbered about 2000 at this time, refused.

On August 27, 1940, a week after the national registration, the government announced Regulations setting up National War Services Boards across the country to oversee the recruitment process. As in World War I, the Regulations had exemption provisions for those Doukhobors and Mennonites covered by the orders in council of 1898 and 1873 respectively and for conscientious objectors. But this time people exempted on the grounds of religion or conscience could be called up for an alternative national service.[35] This became a divisive issue. A majority of the Mennonites favoured an alternative service. Indeed, some Mennonite leaders worked closely with the government in defining the service. Most Doukhobors, however, were hesitant.

Favouring such a service was P.G. Makaroff, a lawyer in Saskatchewan who belonged to the Independent Doukhobors.[36] Like Mennonite leaders, he felt it could help "to allay the criticism and ill-feeling" of the public. Makaroff was an exception. In the fall of 1941, when officials called up Saskatchewan Doukhobors to work on a northern road construction project, less than one-half responded.[37] The authorities then sent nearly one hundred Doukhobors to prison for four months. Significantly, after this officials left Doukhobors alone. They realized that a future call-up would fare no better and that by sending the Doukhobors to prison the benefits of their ordinary labour were lost.

In 1943 the authorities made a new effort to gain Doukhobor cooperation. Of those in Saskatchewan a number now accepted wood cutting projects in winter and farm work in summer.[38] But the alternative service regulations at this time also required participants to sign contracts whereby they would give a portion of their salaries to the Red Cross. The Doukhobors resisted this, saying that they were willing to give money but not sign contracts. That could suggest, they felt, that they were buying their freedom. Some may have made voluntary contributions. After some discussion officials decided not to insist on exact compliance. In British Columbia things were more complex. The Sons of Freedom there had never registered and the C.C.U.B. Doukhobors were even more hesitant about the alternative service program than those in Saskatchewan. Nevertheless, some officials disliked the idea that the Doukhobors were in effect allowed to ignore the law.[39] They began to plan for a gentle but determined approach to make them comply.

The officials, however, were not all of one mind. Labour representatives urged leniency lest the Doukhobors respond with protests and the benefits of their ordinary labour be lost. The R.C.M.P. also urged caution because enforcement action could require a large number of officers. However, Judge A.M. Manson, who chaired the board in British Columbia, wanted an approach whereby the Doukhobors would be law-abiding rather than, as he saw it, law-defying. At Manson's urging enforcement plans were prepared and discussed with officials in Ottawa. This was of concern to the Doukhobors so they also sent delegations to Ottawa. They told officials that they did not want to defy the government but that they also did not want the government to take actions which might just fill the jails with

Doukhobors.[40] They said they were contributing to the country with their daily labour and that they were willing to make financial contributions, though they would do so as a community, rather than on the basis of individual contracts. While trying to be conciliatory they also said: "the Doukhobors will abide by their principles of religion notwithstanding any consequences."

When the officials were not dissuaded, the Doukhobor representatives agreed to have the government's proposals placed before their people in a mass meeting. This took place on December 12, 1943 and some 3500 Doukhobors came together. They welcomed the government representatives with choirs and conciliatory speeches. Then the officials outlined their plans and asked the people for their views. One official later said, "Thirty-five hundred people can make NO sound pretty loud.[41] But Doukhobor leaders were determined to avoid hostility. According to an R.C.M.P. report, all their speeches had "a conciliatory tone". They emphasized their historic motto, "Toil and Peaceful Life" and the words of Jesus, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's". Tragically, that same evening the $400,000 jam factory, long the glory of the C.C.U.B. Doukhobors, was burned down, presumably by Sons of Freedom Doukhobors.

Despite the clear signs that enforcement action would be difficult, some officials were determined to proceed. They now made elaborate plans to have enough military and police units in place to protect public property and to enforce compliance. However, on February 4, 1944, the cabinet in Ottawa vetoed the plan. It heard from the R.C.M.P. that the plan would entail an excessive diversion of enforcement personnel and that there was little to be gained since most Doukhobors were already providing labour in important sectors.[42] With this cabinet level refusal officials now sought a different approach and again Doukhobor leaders tried to be conciliatory. John J. Verigin, the C.C.U.B. leader, stated in a Vancouver newspaper article that Doukhobors had to "make certain contributions to the nation's labour supply and charities."[43] Verigin wanted arrangements that would be satisfactory to both the government and the Doukhobor people.

The Sons of Freedom, however, make it difficult to find an arrangement satisfactory to all. They now went on pilgrimages, urging other Doukhobors to abandon worldliness and to return their registration cards, their birth certificates, and even their money to the government.[44] This, in turn, led to public pressure for enforcement action. But officials were not sure how they could deal with the issue without risking the loss of Doukhobor labour. There were lengthy debates among officials in the late

1943 and early 1944. Eventually they decided to formally grant exemptions to all those who had registered, and then to try to direct these individuals, as well as those who had not registered, to the most needed work projects, if they were not already in such projects. Officials would then also try to persuade them to make contributions to the Red Cross.[45] This was an unusually lenient approach. It was not entirely successful but by the time the war ended many Doukhobors were cooperating.

Conclusions

Clearly, the Doukhobors wanted to pursue an unusual way of life. They wanted to live as a community, by themselves, with considerable independence from governments and state structures. Hence, their desire to hold land communally, their objection to parts of the school system, and their determination to avoid military service. Some also wanted to avoid citizenship and the registration of births, deaths, and marriages. To pursue this way of life they needed unusually broad liberties. They challenged Canada's liberal democratic order.

The response of Canada's provincial and federal governments varied. At certain points they gave the desired liberties. This is evident in the initial land-holding arrangements and again in the World War II situation. In that war the Doukhobors were exempted, in effect, not only from military service but also, for most of the war years, from the alternative service program as well. Moreover, unlike the Mennonites, they were not required to appear individually before the National War Services Boards to seek military exemptions. But these broad liberties were exceptional. The more common response of governments was narrow, sometimes even harshly restrictive as, for example, in the termination of the Saskatchewan land-holding arrangements and in the prolonged British Columbia school controversies.

The harshness in the school controversies requires special comment. Some observers argue that the government had no choice but to resort to force, that the only way to deal with the destructiveness of the Sons of Freedom was to force them to accept schooling. Before that argument is accepted it must be noted that the government could have been much more accommodating. It could have started, early on, to incorporate Russian language classes, Tolstoyan literature, Doukhobor music, and certain Doukhobor concerns about not glorifying military leaders in the teaching of history and not having military drills in schools. Also, the authorities need not have pressed for full attendance. And they could have compromised on the issue of registering births, deaths and marriages. Such a stance would almost certainly have prevented many of the problems.

The reluctance of governments to grant broader liberties merits closer examination. One factor is that Canada's institutional framework was not well suited for accommodating a separate communal way of life like that desired by the Doukhobors. The homesteading laws, adopted and adapted from the United States, reflected an individualistic property system.[46] The school systems were meant to integrate the different peoples living in Canada and to promote the values of the larger society. Even exemption from military service was widely seen, by the time of World War II, as applicable to individuals more than to groups. Even on the question of freedom for religion, the Doukhobors understood this to include freedom for a community and for a way of life, while the governments seemed to see it in more narrow terms, covering belief and certain limited practices. It must be acknowledged, however, that Canada's culture and institutions are not totally individualistic. Collectivist elements are evident in the many separate school systems, in the arrangements for the aboriginal people, and even in the structure of Confederation.

One factor that sometimes worked in the Doukhobors' favour is "the national interest." The 1898 Order in Council promising them, "absolute immunity from military service," was given because they appeared, "to be a most desirable class of settlers to locate upon the vacant Dominion Lands."[47] The government's concessions on land-holding arrangements reflected its desire, in the 1890s, to attract settlers to the western prairies. And during World War II it was the country's need for their ordinary labour that persuaded the government to refrain from pressing for a more exact compliance with the law. But if "the national interest" sometimes worked in favour of the Doukhobors, public opinion often did not. This is evident in the termination of the land-holding arrangements and in the B.C. school controversies. In the latter case the school system's centralization allowed province-wide public opinion to play a larger role than might otherwise have been the case. When the national interest worked in their favour it focussed on their economic contribution and it helped them only for short periods. When public opinion worked against them the focus was on their deviation from Canada's cultural and institutional norms.

The individual government representatives with their varying sympathies are significant too. On the land-holding arrangements, the personal views of the Hon. Clifford Sifton and those of the Hon. Frank Oliver, which differed substantially, had a major effect. So too, in the B.C. school controversies, did the views of Inspector Miller who was patient and those of E.G. Daniels who was more zealous in pressing for full attendance. Similarly, in World War II, there were officials who felt that the Doukhobors should be made to comply with the law while others felt there was little to be gained by insisting on an exact compliance. Also, the unwillingness of officials during the economic depression of the 1930s to allow the C.C.U.B. to benefit from government programs set up to assist industries contributed significantly to the demise of the C.C.U.B. enterprises, as did the C.C.U.B.'s liability for the offenses of individuals under the terms of B.C.'s *Community Regulation Act*.

Another noteworthy issue is the tension between liberty for groups and liberty for individuals within those groups. In World War I, Peter V. Verigin wanted the government not to exempt the Independent Doukhobors from military service. If the government had agreed it would have strengthened his control over the CCUB Doukhobors. On the land controversies, Inspector C.W. Speers argued that individual Doukhobors had never been allowed to appreciate their rights as individuals. Commissioner John MacDougall criticized the communalism of the Doukhobors for its effect on the spirit of the individuals. And school officials in British Columbia argued that enforced schooling was necessary to protect the rights of the individual Doukhobor child. Clearly, the bias toward individual rights in Canada's political culture complicated the effort of the Doukhobors to gain group liberties. Ironically, the collective punishment in British Columbia's *Community Regulation Act* violated the government's professed commitment to individual rights and responsibility.

These different factors - the character of the political institutions, the values in the political culture, the government's perception of "the national interest", the influence of public opinion, the views of individual government representatives, the concern for individual liberty as opposed to group liberties - all played a role in determining the extent of the liberties granted to the Doukhobors. Whether similar groups would be accommodated more fully in the future is not sure. The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* guarantees certain rights but it has an individualistic character.[48] Also, it has reduced the political system's flexibility which sometimes worked in the Doukhobors favour.

Endnotes

1. James A. Smart, deputy minister of the Department of the Interior, to T.G. Rothwell, also of that department, 16 November 1898, National Archives (NA), RG 15, vol. 753, file 494483(1).

2. As quoted in Aylmer Maude, *A Peculiar People: The Doukhobors* (New York: AMS Press Inc. 1970; reprinted from a 1904 edition), 271

3. John Bellows, clerk of the committee appointed by the Society of Friends in England for assisting the Doukhobors, "To the Doukhobors of Canada", 11 November 1900, NA, RG, B1, vol 604660.

4. C.W. Speers, general colonization agent, to the Hon. Frank Oliver, 7 September 1905, ibid.

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6. John McDougall, 'General Report Doukhobor Commission,' to the Hon. the minister of the Interior, 25 Novembewr 1906, ibid, file no 494483(6).

7. Ibid.

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9. 'Report of an Interview between the Honourable Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, and certain representatives of the Doukhobors, the 25th February, 1907,' ibid.

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11. Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, 'Memorandum for Information of Council,' 1 December 1906, ibid.

12. John McDougall to Frank Oliver, 19 June 1907, ibid file no 494483(7).

13. 'An open letter to all our neighbours, peaceful citizens, and our Democratic Government of Canada,' signed by the president and secretary of the Society of Independent Doukhobors, Blaine Lake Echo, 13 April 1932, quoted in C.A. Dawson, *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd 1936), 69.

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15. William Blackmore, *Report of the Royal Commission on Matters Relating to the Sect of Doukhobors in British Columbia*, 1912 (Victoria: Government of British Columbia, Sessional papers 1913), 54.

16. Ibid, 52.

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21. Ibid 147.

22. Quoted in Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood, 588.

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24. Mary Ashworth, *The Forces Which Shaped Them: A History of the Education of Minority Group Children in British Columbia* (Vancouver: New Star Books Ltd 1979), 156.

25. Margaret Hill, The Detention of Freedomite Children, 1935-59, *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 18, no. 3 (1986), 54.

26. Ashworth, op. cit. 166.

27. *Perepolkin v. Superintendent of Child Welfare* (1957) 23 WWR 592.

28. Order in Council no. 2747, 6 December 1898, NA, RG 76, vol. 175, part 9, (microfilm reel C7330).

29. *Ottawa Citizen*, 15 January 1917; see also NA, RG 15, vol. 758 file 494483(14).

30. As quoted in the *Regina Leader*, 1 March 1917; see also NA, ibid.

31. *The Military Service Act* (1917), Statutes of Canada 1917; see also NA, ibid.

32. *The Regina Post*, 12 October 1917; see also NA ibid.

33. S. Mabor, superintendent of the Department of the Interior, to the deputy minister of that department, 18 October 1917, NA ibid.

34. RCMP, Memorandum Re: Doukhobors, for minister of National Defence 8 March 1943, NA RG 24 vol. 6521, file H.Q. 420-18-28. See also other letters of the summer 1940 in the P.G. Makaroff Papers, Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

35. National War Services Regulations, 1940 (Recruits), *The Canada Gazette* 74, no. 23, 27 August 1940.

36. P.G. Makaroff to John J. Anatooshkin, 5 September 1940, P.G. Makaroff Papers, SAB.

37. Report on Work Done by Conscientious Objectors (Mennonites, Doukhobors And Other Sects) Under Director of Department of Mines and Resources from June to November 15th, 1941, NA, RG 27, vol. 986, file 1.

38. Memorandum to W.W. Dawson, supervisor of farm labour requirements, Saskatchewan, 30 June 1943, Department of National Defence (DND), Directorate of History, file 326-009 D102.

39. A.M. Manson to L.E. Westman, 12 August 1943, NA, RG 27, vol. 991, file 2-101-2

40. Statement of Doukhobor Delegation (Union of Spiritual Community of Christ), 16 November 1943, ibid.

41. These events are referred to in several memoranda, including C.S. Henley to L.E. Westman, 15 December 1943; RCMP, Vancouver, 20 December 1943; and Majo. J.B. Cowell to McNamara, 13 December 1943; ibid. See also Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood, 685.

42. A.D. Heeney to Humphrey Mitchell, 7 February 1944, NA, RG 27, vol. 133, file 601.3-6-1 (vol 4)

43. *Vancouver Sun*, We'll Do Anything But Fight, 28 January 1944.

44. Summary of Activities in the West Kootenay, February 1944, ibid.

45. These developments are described in William Janzen, *Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor Communities* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 239-241.

46. See C. W. Dawson, op. cit. p. viii; also E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites of Manitoba* (Altona, Man.: D. W. Friesen and Sons Ltd 1955), 64.

47. Order in Council no 2747, 6 December 1898, op. cit.

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A View from Within:

"SINGING ALONE WAS NOT THE ANSWER"

by

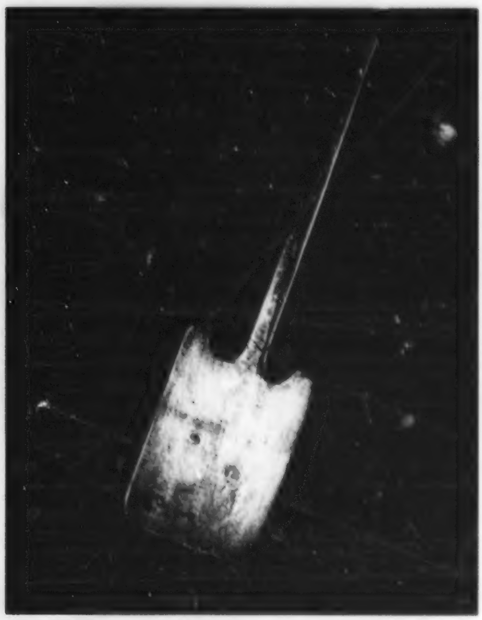
Mike E. Chernenkoff

I have always had a strong feeling towards the Doukhobor faith and belonged to the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ till 1947. Eventually I believed that singing alone was not the answer; it would not accomplish our mission in Canada. So in 1947, I started participating with the Sons of Freedom, at the time when the community dwellings, in Shoreacres, B.C., were being burned down, in the presence of R.C.M.P.

I started with the Sons of Freedom when I was 23 years of age, single, full of energy and a bit mischievous. My first conviction was for three years in 1950. Soon after I served my sentence in 1953, I was convicted again, this time for two years - for being nude when the R.C.M.P. raided the tent village in Perry's Siding, to arrest the adults and abduct the children to New Denver for forced education.

I was married in 1957, soon after I served the two-year sentence. By the time I was sentenced to eight years in 1961, we had four children. Now we have five children. Four of the children are married and living in the area. The wife and myself are living in the New Settlement (near Krestova, in the interior of B.C.) and still hanging on to the principle of "Land shall not be bought or sold or taxes paid on same." I strongly believe that the Doukhobor faith, if adhered to, is the closest to the teaching of Jesus Christ.

PART FIVE: BIBLIOGRAPHICAL FINDINGS



Wooden shovels like this Doukhobor specimen from British Columbia were multipurpose tools used to handle hay, grain, snow, and breads in traditional bake-ovens. (CCFCS 73-942)

This Doukhobor flail from the Glade district in British Columbia was used from 1912 to 1930 to thresh grain by hand. (CCFCS 73-877)

UPDATE 1973-1993: EXCERPTS FROM THE DOUKHOBOR BIBLIOGRAPHY, EXPANDED AND UPDATED EDITION

by
Jack McIntosh

While covering unpublished materials only selectively, and excluding Russian-language works produced in the former Soviet Union or materials previously covered by Maria Horvath's pioneering bibliography on Doukhobors[1] this bibliographic update for 1974-1993 nevertheless describes some 268 items published in locations as far apart as Okinawa, Japan; Fasano, Italy; and Hollywood! It actually covers many more documents if we consider that some numbers actually represent whole collections; for example: item 46, 94, 110, 154, and 196. Since the *Doukhobor Bibliography* first appeared, interest in this unique Russian-Canadian ethno-religious community has grown, on the part of scholars, journalists, and other "outsiders," and also for Doukhobors themselves exploring in print their experiences and heritage. Yet, a person seeking information about the subject in most libraries and bookstores will find few if any relevant books, and only the odd article. Moreover, bibliographic aids such as periodical indexes and online databases yield relatively few "hits" on this subject. For example, in January 1994 the bibliographic database *America, History and Life* (available through the DIALOG Information Retrieval Service), which provides extensive coverage on scholarly literature published since 1964, contained only thirty-nine distinct items on Doukhobors. Why is this? The seeming scarcity of material is attributable primarily to the fact that many of the titles listed below have come out in small, relatively obscure, non-commercial editions, printed privately and having limited distribution, often confined to Doukhobor or specialized readership. Periodical articles or chapters within works on more general subjects are naturally harder to find than books, and scholarship in the form of postgraduate theses and other unpublished sources usually exist only as single-copy originals in widely scattered locations not immediately accessible to the general reader.

For many years the University of British Columbia Library has sought to assemble and maintain a comprehensive Doukhobor collection, not only as a resource for study, but also as a preserved record of the Doukhobors' heritage in its many facets. In addition to offering open access to the public in the library, UBC also makes much of its Doukhobor-related material available through interlibrary loan. Even nominally non-circulating materials may be available via copying or purchase. For example, Canadian theses from different universities can now be acquired in microform from the National Library in Ottawa, and American theses can usually be obtained from Dissertation Abstracts International. UBC librarians would be pleased to provide information and advice regarding loan conditions or possibilities for purchase or copying of specific items (subject to copyright law). Archival materials, however, must be consulted in the library.

It is my hope that this bibliography will draw the attention of scholars and general readers alike to some unexpected sources which add colour and content to the fascinating story of the Doukhobors in Canada, and promote better mutual understanding and issue resolution among Doukhobors and Canadians of all origins. In view of the length and compactness of this list, and its unclassified alphabetical arrangement, I shall highlight certain categories of particular interest (keyed to item numbers):

I. **Russian (or German) language material now accessible in English translation**:

Chertkova(45) Cohnstaedt(49) Dzhashi(62) Inikova(92) Klibanov(103-105) KCRI proceedings [Significant correspondence and speeches of leaders, excerpts from Doukhobor historians works](111) Malloff/Ogloff(131) McGauley/McIntosh(141) *Mir*(155) Popoff(177) Reibin(183) Shklovsky(201) Sorokin(208-210) Soukoreff(211) Stepanov/Susokolov(212) Sulerzhitsky(216) Tolstoy(239-240) Michael ("Archangel") Verigin/Orekoff(254) *Zhivotnaia kniga/Book of Life*(267)

English-language materials published in Russia:

Grigulevich(83) Inikova(92) Lineva(125) Shkolvsky(201)

II. **First-person accounts: memoirs, letters, diaries, interviews, etc.:**

All contain unique experiences and views from the perspectives of persons and groups represented. Among especially notable items are diaries and reminiscences of active participants at important moments in Doukhobor history: the Efanow diary, *Iskra*, KCIR, Harshenin tapes, *Mir*, Reibin, Sulerzhitsky, as well as descriptions from non-Russian observers.
- Adams/Thomas(1) Baturin(11) Bondoreff(19) Cameron(39) Charters(41) Chernenkoff(42) Cohnstaedt(49) "The Doukhobors"(57) Efanow(63) Fleming(68) Fossum(69) *Iskra*(95) King(102) Konkin(110) Kootenay

Committee on Intergroup Relations (KCIR)(111) Malakoff(130) Belle McGauley(139) Tom McGauley(140) Meier(141) Mealing(148) Minden(154) *Mir*(155) Moore(156) Prior/Harshenin(179) Reibin(183) Richmond(185) Salmo Doukhobor Cultural Study(196) Scott(198) Sulerzhitsky(216) Tarasoff(224-225,227-230, 237) Yoshida(266)

III. Government and official records, commuity records, rare unpublished material, etc. brought to light and made accessible during or due to the work of the Kootenay Committee on Intergroup Relations (KCIR):

Of particular current interest is Steve Lapshinoff's most recent compilation, *Documentary Report on the Death of Peter V. Verigin, et al.* (116), which incorporates all available written evidence on this matter, including information included in items 40, 94, 135, etc. Much information on recent issues among all various Doukhobor groups and problems involving different government agencies is contained in the 100-volume verbatim transcript of the KCIR itself(111); Marshall's article describes the nature and work of that Committee(133).

Bondoreff(19) Canadian Pacific...(40) Chernoff(43) Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood(47) Efanow(63) Freedomite Papers(70) Investigator Reports(94) Lapshinoff(114-122) McCardle(135) *Nelson News* articles(158) Sorokin/Lapshinoff(208-209) Soukoreff(211) USCC: *"The Thorny Pathway"*(251) Michael ("Archangel") Verigin/Orekoff(254)

IV. Postgraduate theses:

Anderson(4) Bradley(20) Fry(75) Gale(77) Harshenin(87) Ianella(91) Janzen(96) Lyons(127) McCormick(137) Mealing(151) Morris(157) Olson(160) Orris(162) Perry(167) Pevey(169) Shames(200) Shortt(202) Socknat(204) Szalasznyj(220) Tarasoff(233) Torrance(241) Wong(258)

V. East-West Relations, Peacemaking:

Baturin(11) Callwood(38) International Doukhobor Intergroup Symposium(93) *Iskra*(95) Kubish(113) Martin(134) *Mir*(155) Socknat(204) Tarasoff(222-223, 225, 227-229, 232, etc.) *World Conference...*(252)

VI. Publications on Artistic & Cultural Themes, Poetry and Fiction:

Best of the West(13) Bill Koochin(15) Bird(17-18) *Brilliant Home Cooking*(22) Burnham(25-26) Burton(27) Denisoff(55) Fitzgerald(67) Goa(80) Greig(82) Guilleman(84) Haddon(85) Hryniuk(90) Kolesnikoff(107-108) Lineva(125) Loveroff(126) Mealing(143, 145-147, 149-153) Perehudoff(164-165) Perry(167) Plotnikoff(170-171) Robertson(186) Rowan(189) Roy(190-191) *Russian Canadian Heritage Festival*(193) Sookavieff(206) Sunshine Valley...Women's Guild(217) Sysoev(218-219) Tarasoff(235) *Treasures...*(244) USCC *Sbornik...*(249) USCC *Stikhi i psalmy dlia detei...*(250) *Zhivotnaia kniga/Book of Life*(267) Zonailo(268)

VII. Publications or documents dated prior to, but discovered or acquired by UBC Library after 1973:

Dukhobory v Zapadnoi Kanade...(59) Ianella(91) Latimer(123) Lineva(125) Malakoff(130) Maloff(132) *Opisanie pokhoron...*(161) Perepelkin/Podovinikoff(166) Sysoev(218)

Nearing completion is an expanded edition of the *Doukhobor Bibliography* which will incorporate Maria Horvath's three-part reference publication, the present list, and also cover publications and documents from the former Soviet Union, all extensively annotated to indicate content and location. Primarily, the new bibliography will aid study and research by and about Doukhobors, and suggest directions leading to new analyses, syntheses and discoveries. In addition, the expanded bibliography will trace how this fascinating and complex phenomenon has been represented (or misrepresented) over time in various media, from diverse points of view, and using different methodologies.

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28. BUYNIAK, Victor O.
"Aylmer Maude on practical application of the non-resistance doctrine and its implication in establishment of Tolstoyan and Doukhobor colonies" *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1969: 87-94.

29. _________
"Documents of Western History. Doukhobor immigration: the potato dilemma" *Saskatchewan History*, vol. 38, no. 2, 1985: 72-76.

30. _________
'The 1899 Manitoba and Northwestern Railway Dispute with the Doukhobors.' Paper presented at the Bi-Annual Conference of the Central and East European Studies Association, Edmonton: October 1981. 12 pp. ts.

31. _________
"Aylmer Maude on practical application of the non-resistance doctrine and its implication in establishment of Tolstoyan and Doukhobor colonies" *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1969: 87-94.

32. _________
"Doukhobors, Molokans and Skovoroda's teachings" in Martin L. KOVACS, ed., *Roots and Realities Among Eastern and Central Europeans*. Edmonton: Central and East European Studies Association of Canada, 1983: 13-23.

33. _________
'Cyril Genik - the Doukhobors' Interpreter.' Paper presented at a workshop of the Bi-Annual Central and East European Studies Association Conference of Canada held at the Learned Societies Conference, Halifax, June 1981. 8 pp. ts.

34. _________
"Early Doukhobor villages and their names" *Onomastica*, no. 57, 1980: 1-9.

35. _________
'Mary Agnes Fitz Gibbon and the National Women Committee's Work in Aid of Doukhobors.' Paper presented at the Seventh Biennial Conference of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, Montreal, October 16-18, 1985. 9 pp., ts.

36. ________
"Place names of the early Dukhobor settlement in Saskatchewan" *Slavs in Canada*. Toronto: Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, vol. 3, 1971: 143-49.

37. ________
"Tolstoy and the Doukhobors" *Chelsea Journal*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1978: 151-55.

38. CALLWOOD, June
Emma: The True Story of Canada's Unlikely Spy. Toronto: Stoddart, 1984. 245 pp.

39. CAMERON, Silver Donald
"Children of protest," by Silver Donald Cameron. *Weekend Magazine*, November 13, 1976: 16-23 [Republished as "The Children of Terror" in his *Seasons in the Rain: An Expatriate's Notes on British Columbia* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1978: 181-98.]
In the late 1950s, Cameron had been a teacher at the New Denver residential school where truant children were placed by the B.C. government against the wishes of their parents.

40. CANADIAN PACIFIC LTD.
'Confidential Brief Dealing with Evidence which Might Be Given at Public Hearing Called by Board of Transport Commissioners... 1959.' 10; 16; [15] pp., ts.
Summary of "depredations" from January 1, 1923 to April 30, 1959 committed on Company's property; details of cases in 1957 and 1958; photographs; year by year list of "depredations".

41. CHARTERS, John A.
Over My Shoulder: Reflections & Recollections of a Newspaper Columnist. Robson, B.C.: Bear Grass Press, 1988. 194 pp.

42. CHERNENKOFF, Mike E. [Mikhail I.], et al.
Tiuremnyi dnevnik: sobytie i perezhivanie v gornoi tiur' me, Agassiz, B.K. 1962-1969 [Prison Diary: Experiences and Sufferings in Mountain Prison, Agassiz, B.C., 1962-1969.] Crescent Valley, B.C.: Steve Lapshinoff, 1993. vi, 134 pp., illus.
Chernenkoff's prison diary is accompanied by numerous photographs and verses composed by the author and friends, by an appeal sent from Mountain Prison to John L. Lebedoff, July 14, 1964 signed by all the Freedomite men imprisoned there, a declaration sent March 31, 1965 to John J. Verigin (in English), and a petition to the Minister of Justice (April 7, 1965). Appended is a list of Freedomites imprisoned in Oakalla, at Haney, Wellington, New Haven, Mountain Prison, Mountain Prison Women's Camp, with a list of names of persons who died during the trek or imprisonment.

43. CHERNOFF, Michael M.
[Papers, 1927-1987] 14 l.
Copies of financial statements from the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood (1927 and 1928), a letter and statement pertaining to the loan of $350,000 by the Community in 1925, a letter to the editor of *Iskra* dated December 12, 1987 from John S. Lebedoff, an account of Eli A. Popoff's report to the 56th joint Doukhobor research symposium on December 7, 1980, and remarks on the same symposium (in Russian).

44. CHERTKOV, Vladimir Grigor'evich
[Papers on Doukhobor Emigration from Russia.] 1897-1898. 7 l. originals or carbons.

Item purchased from a bookseller in March 1986 contains letters from V. G. Chertkov to Rev. A. W. Prautch (1897.10.29) from Eliza Pickard on Chertkov's letterhead (1898.08.31) from John Bellows to A. W. Prautch (1898.01?.14) from C.W. Mott, General Emigration Agent, Northern Pacific Railway, to V. G. Chertkov promoting North Dakota for Doukhobor settlement [carbon copy] (1898.08.23) from [unsigned], Western Land Agent, [Northern Pacific Railway], to C. W. Mott, St. Paul, Minn. (1898.09.29) and the reply from C. W. Mott to Thomas Cooper, Western Land Agent, Northern Pacific Railway, Tacoma (1898.10.06).

45. CHERTKOVA, Anna Konstantinovna

Chto poiut russkie sektanty: sbornik sektantskikh napievov s tekstom slov [What Russian Sectarians Sing: Collection of Sectarian Songs with Text]. Vypusk 1, otdel 1, *"Psalmy i stishki" dukhobortsev, zapisano po dukhoborcheskim golosam* ["Psalms and Musical Poems" of the Doukhobors, Transcribed as Sung by the Doukhobors]. Moscow: Izd. P. Iurgensona, 1910. 26 pp.

English translation (the text of Anna Chertkova's introduction and forewords to earlier editions was translated in 1993):
'What Members of Russian Sects Sing: Collection of Sectarian Songs with Text.' First Edition [sic--i.e. Issue no. 1], Part I, 'Psalms and Musical Poems of the Dukhobors, Transcribed as Sung by the Dukhobors.' [Ottawa: Translation Bureau, 1993]. 17 l., ts. [Translator: MHG, Translation Bureau, Secretary of State. Requested by Robert B. Klymasz, Curator, East European Programme, Canadian Museum of Civilization.]

46. CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY AND BROTHERHOOD OF REFORMED DOUKHOBORS

[Freedomites who accepted the leadership of S.S.Sorokin.]

Numerous mimeographed polemical tracts distributed in the West Kootenay and Boundary areas from the 1950s to the 1980s, not separately listed in this update.

47. CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY OF UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD

Documents Relating to Proposed Settlement of Freedomites at Champion Creek at Krestova, 1931-1934. Copies provided by members of the Planning and Research group, Kootenay Committee on Intergroup Relations, 1986. 16 ll.

48. CLAY, J. Eugene

"God's People in the Early Eighteenth Century: the Uglich Affair of 1717 - Dossier" *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, vol. 26, no. 1, 1985: 69-124.

49. COHNSTAEDT, Wilhelm

"A Doukhobor village" in Klaus H. BURMEISTER, ed., *Western Canada 1909: Travel Letters by Wilhelm Cohnstaedt*. Translated by Herta HOLLE-SCHERER. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1976: 20-22; 75.

50. CROSSLEY-KERSHAW, A.

"Ideological conflict, assimilation and the cultural landscape: A case study of the Doukhobors in Canada" in *Aspects of Human Geography, the Kelowna Papers*, 1981. Vancouver: Tantalus, 1982: 9-26.

51. CULTURAL EDUCATION CENTRE RESTAURANT (Vera C. and Harry N. Voykin).

Doukhobor Calendar 1980/1981: Historical Pictures and Events. Castlegar, B.C.: C.E.C. Restaurant, 1979. [26] pp.

52. CULTURES DO DIE: the Dukhobors [sound recording]. Toronto: CBC Learning Systems [1976] cassette reel 2-track mono. 60 min. 3 3/4 ips. (Catalogue no. 1149L) Interviews by Liubomyr MYKYTIUK with Eli POPOFF, Joe PODOVINIKOFF, Mark MEALING, William EVANS, etc. on the history of the Doukhobors in Canada.

53. DAVIES, David
"The pre-1917 roots of Canadian-Soviet Relations" *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 70, no. 2, 1989: 180-205.

54. DAVIS, Michael Byron
"Freedom of religion: The Doukhobors. Fleeing from persecution, the Doukhobors have found a kind of sanctuary in Canada" *Canada & the World*, vol. 42, 1976: 20-21.

55. DENISOFF, Dennis
Dog Years. Vancouver: Pulp Press, 1991. 128 pp.
Novel involving Canadian or Russian descent on student exchange in Russia, AIDS, etc.

56. DOUKHOBOR YOUTH NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
Doukhobor Participation Survey, 1972. Castlegar, B.C.: [1973]. 15 pp.

57. "THE DOUKHOBORS" *Sound Heritage*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1977: 23-77.

58. DOUKHOBORS OF CANADA C.C.U.B. TRUST FUND. Board of Directors
Report of the Board of Directors. Regina: The Board. 1984-85. 1985. 9 pp.; 1985-86. 1986. 9 pp.

59. DUKHOBORY V. ZAPADNOI KANADIE *i ikh prava na vladienie zemlei: Otchet o peregovorakh mezhdu Dukhoborskimi delegatami i Gospodinom Ministrom Vnutrennikh Diel, s doslovnoi peredachei ikh riechei* [The Doukhobors in Western Canada and Their Rights to Land Ownership: Report on Talks Between Doukhobor Delegates and the Minister of the Interior, with a Verbatim Transcript]. Ottawa: 1907. 30 pp. [Electrostatic reprint: S. Lapshinoff, 1988.]

60. DUNN, Ethel
"American Molokans and Canadian Doukhobors: economic position and ethnic identity" in Frances HENRY, ed., *Ethnicity in the Americas*. The Hague: Mouton, 1976: 97-114. A photocopy of Dunn's article appears as Section 11 in *The Molokan Heritage Collection, vol. 1: Reprints of Articles and Translations*. Berkeley, CA: Highgate Road Social Science Research Station, Inc., 1983.

61. __________, Ethel and Stephen P. DUNN
"The Molokans in America" *Dialectical Anthropology*, vol. 3, no. 4, 1978: 349-60.

62. DZHASHI, Ilarion
"*Obshchestvo Slavianskoe, Elisavetpol'skoi gubernii i uiezda*" *Sbornik materialov dlia opisaniia miestnostei i plemen Kavkaza* [A Collection of Materials Describing Localities and Tribes of the Caucasus], no. 27, otdiel 2, 1900: 1-41 [Unpublished English translation by Jack McIntosh: 'Slavyanka Rural Settlement Area, Elisavetpol Guberniya and Uyezd'. Vancouver: 1988. 41 ll.] A rare ethnographic study of Doukhobors in the Transcaucasus.

63. EFANOW, Alex
Journals [in Russian]. Booklets 1-4. Photocopies of ms.
Handwritten journal of Freedomite activist of the 1920s and '30s.

64. EWASHEN, Larry A.; translated by Galina ALEKSEEVA
"'O Gospodi, ty - svet moei zhizni...': o Petre Verigine" ["O Lord, Thou art the light of my life": about Peter Verigin] *Iasnopolianskii vestnik* [Yasnaya Polyana Bulletin], November 1990: 6-7.

65. _________
Peter V. Verigin 1859-1924: An Appreciation. Creston, B.C.: Great West Publishing, 1988. 26 pp.

66. _________, and Koozma J. TARASOFF
In Search of Utopia: the Doukhobors. Rev. ed. 1989. Vancouver: Great West Publishing, ©1988. [16] pp.
Chronology of dates significant in Doukhobor history, with an addendum by K. J. Tarasoff and a select bibliography.

67. FITZGERALD, Dennis
"Pickers of the Lost Art: Jim Shockey Has Collected Most of Western Canada's Best Folk Furniture. Now He's Waiting for it to Turn to Gold," *Western Living*, vol. 16, no. 12, 1986: 32f-32r.

68. FLEMING, Minnie (Mrs. Ross Fleming)
[Speech on impressions gained in seven years of primary teaching of Doukhobor children, donated by her son, Gordon Fleming.] [c. 1950s] 9 ll., photocopy of ms.

69. FOSSUM, Jack
Cop in a Closet. North Vancouver: Hancock House, 1981. 169, [16] leaves of plates.

70. [FREEDOMITE PAPERS 1928-1930] 105 leaves, ts.
Acquired via the planning and research committee of the Kootenay Committee on Intergroup Relations in 1986, covers a variety of correspondence, appeals, open letters, etc. during a turbulent period of rapidly increasing Freedomite activity.

71. FRIESEN, John W.
'Doukhobors in Alberta: A People in Transition.' n.p., 1985. 42 pp.
Paper presented at the Bicentennial Conference of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association (7th, Montreal, October 16-19, 1985), in which a representative sample of former Doukhobor residents of 13 Canadian villages are interviewed and responses of three generations compared.

72. _________
"Pacifism and Anastasia's Doukhobor village" *Alberta History*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1993: 14-19.

73. _________
Schools with a Purpose. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1983. 142 pp.

74. _________, and Michael M. VERIGIN
The Community Doukhobors: a People in Transition. Ottawa: Borealis, 1989. xviii, 240 pp.

75. FRY, Gary Dean
'The Doukhobors 1801-1855: The Origins of a Successful Dissident Sect.' Ph. D. thesis. Washington, D.C.: The American University, 1976. 463 pp.

76. FRYER, Harold
"Spirit Wrestlers: Alberta's Doukhobors" in his *Alberta: The Pioneer Years*. Langley, B.C.: Stagecoach, 1977: 122-26 [Not included in rev. and abridged ed., 1984.]

77. GALE, Donald T
'Belief and the Landscape of Religion: the Case of the Doukhobors.' M.A. thesis. Burnaby, B.C.: Simon Fraser University, 1974. 221 pp.

78. __________, and Paul M. KOROSCIL
"Doukhobor settlements: experiments in idealism" *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1977: 53-71.

79. GHADIRIAN, Abdu'l-Missagh. Preface: Eli A. POPOFF
Doukhobors and the Baha'i Faith; Tolstoy and His Appreciation of the Baha'i Faith. Thornhill, Ont.: Baha'i Canada, ©1989. 30 pp.

80. GOA, David J.
"The Doukhobors" *Canadian Collector*, 11, 1976: 87-89. [Concerning antiques.]

81. GRANASTSTEIN, J.L., and J. M. HITSMAN
Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada. Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977. 281 pp.

82. GREIG, Hugh
The Hope and the Promise: the Tender, Tragic and Often Turbulent Story of the Doukhobors. Langley: Stagecoach Pub. Co., 1977. 187 pp.

83. GRIGULEVICH, N. I.
Cultural and Ecological Peculiarities of the Traditional Diet of the Russians in Azerbaijan. 12th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, July 24-31, 1988. Moscow: Nauka, 1988. 7 pp.

84. GUILLEMIN, Donna
"An interior portrayed: West Kootenay Doukhobors" *West Coast Review*, vol. 18/4, 1984: 32-40 and front and back covers. [Captioned photographs.]

85. HADDON, Rona
Ootischenie. [Fredericton, N.B., Fiddlehead Poetry Books, 1974]. 39 pp.

86. HALL, David John
Clifford Sifton. vol. 1. *The Young Napoleon, 1861-1900*; vol. 2. *A Lonely Eminence, 1901-1929*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1981-1985. 361; 437 pp. [Much on government policy on immigration.]

87. HARSHENIN, Alex P.
'A Generative Phonology of Doukhobor Conjugation' Ph. D. thesis. [Seattle: University of Washington], 1974. iii, 231 leaves.

88. ________
"More on English loanwords in the Doukhobor dialect" *Proceedings of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages*, vol. 28, pt. 2, 1977: 68-71.

89. HILL, Margaret
"The Detention of Freedomite Children, 1953-59" *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1986: 47-60.

90. HRYNIUK, Margaret
"Humble beginnings" *Canada Century Home*, September-October 1984: 24-26. [Article on prairie antiques includes photographs of a Doukhobor podium, bed, and carpet.]

91. IANELLA, Frank
'The Dukhobors in Russia.' M.A. thesis. [DeKalb]: Northern Illinois University, 1965. iv, 89 ll.

92. INIKOVA, Svetlana A.; Übersetzt von Martin GOCH
"Der Krieg in der Lehre und im Leben der Doukhoboren" *Bios: Zeitschrift für Biographieforschung und Oral History*, H. 1, 1990: 61-67. [English translation provided by the author: 'War in the Teaching and Life of Dukhobors' 11 ll., ts.]

93. INTERNATIONAL DOUKHOBOR INTERGROUP SYMPOSIUM: Doukhobors, Molokans, Mennonites, Quakers: Castlegar, B.C., Canada, June 25-28, 1982
Symposium Proceedings. Edited by Koozma J. Tarasoff. Grand Forks, B.C.: Symposium Planning Committee, 1983. 120 pp.

94. INVESTIGATOR REPORTS: re explosion near Farron, B.C., in first class day coach 1586 of train No. 11, Oct. 29th, 1924, whereby Peter Veregin, Sr., and seven others received injuries which resulted in their death. Regina, Sask.: July 18, 1932. 12 l, ts.
Released in 1985 from previously closed RCMP records in Ottawa through the Kootenay Committee on Intergroup Relations, this document, together with attached investigation reports and statements dating from 1924, covering letters and forwarding minutes, summarizes results of inquiries carried out in 1932 jointly by the Canadian Pacific Railway Department of Investigation and the B.C. Provincial Police, indicating the suspected perpetrator and the unproven possibility of others' involvement. In part, this document appears to form the basis of Simma Holt's theory, advanced in her book *Terror in the Name of God*, centering on Metro Grishen and alleging Peter P. Verigin's complicity in his own father's death.

95. *ISKRA*, Grand Forks, B.C.: Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ, 1943-
Contains a wealth of community and organizational news and plans, historical and biographical information, much of it in translation, birth and death notices, poetry, etc. in Russian and English. Recent numbers feature news on renewed contacts and cooperation with Doukhobors in the former Soviet Union who after a century and a half have had to return to Russia from the Transcaucasus. A key issue discussed lately has been the question of Canadian Doukhobors returning to Russia, or finding some alternative means of maintaining their vital and distinctive identity elsewhere.

96. JANZEN, William
Limits on Liberty: the Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite and Doukhobor Communities in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990. viii, 375 p. [Revised and expanded Ph. D. thesis: Ottawa: Carleton University, 1981.]

97. JILEK-AALL, Louise, Wolfgang JILEK and Frank FLYNN
"Sex role, culture and psychopathology: a comparative study of three ethnic groups in Western Canada" *Journal of Psychological Anthropology*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1978: 473-88.

98. JONES, Malcolm V., and James Y. MUCKLE
"Three letters from V.D. Bonch-Bruyevich in the Pashkov papers" *Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 60, no. 1, 1982: 75-84

99. KALMAKOFF, Nick N.
Dukhovnye stikhi i narodnye pesni Dukhobortsev v Kanade [Religious and Folk Songs of the Doukhobors in Canada]. Richmond, B.C.: N.N. Kalmakoff, 1991. 510 pp.

100. KALMAKOFF, Tena
Recollections of Life in a Doukhobor Village [sound recording]: interviewer: Lillian JUK. Vancouver: UBC Archives phonotape, 1983. 1 sound cassette: 1 7/8 ips.

101. KERBLAY, Basile
"Les utopies communautaires au banc d'essai de la Russie des années vingt" *Revue des études slaves*, tome 56, fasc. 1, 1984: 97-103.

102. KING, Carlyle
"A beginning in politics: Saskatoon CCF 1938-1943" *Saskatchewan History*, vol. 36, no. 3, 1983: 102-14.
[Reminiscences of pacifist, professor, and sometime politician emphasizes his friendship with Peter G. Makaroff.]

103. KLIBANOV, Aleksandr Il'ich
Istoriia religioznogo sektantstva v Rossii. Moscow: Nauka, 1965. 348 pp. [English translation by Ethel Dunn edited by Stephen P. Dunn: *History of Religious Sectarianism in Russia (1860s-1917)*. Oxford: Pergamon, 1982. 450 p.]

104. _________
Narodnaia sotsial' naia utopiia v Rossii: XIX vek [Popular Social Utopia in Russia: 19th Century]. Moscow: Nauka, 1978, 342 pp. [The first part of chapter 1 (pp. 7-33) has been translated by Stephen P. Dunn and Ethel Dunn as "Problems of the ideology of peasant movements (1850s-1860s)" in *Russian History*, vol. 11, no. 2-3, 1984: 168-208.]

105. _________
"Sectarianism in the socialist reconstruction of the countryside" *Soviet Sociology*, vol. 8, 1970: 383-411.

106. KLYMASZ, Robert B.
"V.D. Bonch-Bruevich and the Lenin connection in New World folkloristics" *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 93, no. 369, 1980: 317-24.

107. KOLESNIKOFF, James D., and Nina
"Ivan Sysoev: a Doukhobor poet" *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, 1980: 93-102.

108. _________, Nina
"Contemporary Doukhobor poetry" *Ibid.*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1982: 62-73.

109. _________, Nina and James D.
"Leo Tolstoy and the Doukhobors" in *Canadian Contributions to the VIII International Congress of Slavists* (Zagreb-Ljubljana, 1978). Ottawa: Canadian Association of Slavists, 1978: 37-44.

110. KONKIN, V.F., and V.V. KUZNETSOV
'Dialog vo blago sotsialnogo naslediia' [Dialog for the sake of a social heritage]. Tbilisi: 1988. various pagination, ts.
Strictly speaking outside the scope of this list, as it was produced in the ex-USSR, this item is included here on the grounds that it was sent to Canadian Doukhobors and is likely accessible only at UBC. An extended review of Soviet historians writings on Doukhobors, this manuscript provides rare insight into views of present-day Doukhobors in the Transcaucasus concerning their history in the twentieth century.

111. KOOTENAY COMMITTEE ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS (Expanded)
Proceedings. [Cranbrook, B.C.]: Court Reporting Services, Ministry of Attorney General. vol. 1-100, 1982-1987, with preliminary name index and partial subject index to proceedings compiled by Jack McIntosh.
[Presentations by individuals, and by leaders, representatives and rank-and-file members of various Doukhobor groups, as well as from official records of government departments and lengthy round table discussions concerning longstanding issues: land tenure, terrorism, education, the role of leadership, the death of Peter V. Verigin in 1924, the role of Canadian governments and officials, etc. Source materials presented and examined include: police reports, local press coverage (e.g. *Grand Forks Gazette*, 1911-1936; *Nelson News*, 1924, 1931, 1980), and translated sections from books by Doukhobor historians and speeches by Doukhobor leaders.]

112. KOSACHOVA, Nataliya G.
"The Doukhobors" in Tamara F. Jeletzky, ed., *Russian Canadians, Their Past and Present (Collected Essays)*. Ottawa: Borealis Press, 1983: 11-47.

113. KUBISH, Glenn
"For some Doukhobors, Russia" *Western Report*, vol. 4, no. 16 1989: 36-37.

114. LAPSHINOFF, Steve
'Documentary Report on Doukhobor Lands in British Columbia'. [Crescent Valley, B.C.: S. Lapshinoff], 1990, 282 pp., ts.

115. _________
'Documentary Report on Doukhobor Lands in Saskatchewan. [Crescent Valley, B.C.: S. Lapshinoff], 1989. 272 pp., ts. [Compilation of documents held by the National Archives in Ottawa, researched by Steve Lapshinoff and John Ostrikoff in 1987.]

116. _________
Documentary Report on the Death of Peter V. Verigin, et al. in a Train Explosion near Farron, B.C. in 1924. Crescent Valley, B.C.: © S. Lapshinoff], 1993. 407 pp.

117. _________
'Doukhobor Depredations in Canada' n. p.: n. d. 74, 4 pp. [Year by year summary of incidents of arson or bombing involving zealots as perpetrators or in which Doukhobors were victims, 1923-1986.]

118. __________
'List of Documents Researched and Photocopied at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia at Victoria, B.C. ... November 30th to December 11th, 1986 January 19th to January 23, 1987 August 11th to August 19th, 1987 and at Nelson Court House: March 30th, 1987 & May 25th, 1987.' [Crescent Valley, B.C.] 1987. various pagination, ts.

119. __________
Names of Doukhobor Immigrants to Canada in 1899. [Crescent Valley, B.C.: S. Lapshinoff], 1993. 53 pp.

120. __________
'Report on Krestova Lands' / researched and compiled by Steve Lapshinoff. 1 vol. & appendix. [Crescent Valley, B.C.]: S. Lapshinoff, 1987. 78, 2 leaves.

121. __________, and John OSTRIKOFF.
'Public Archives Canada, Ottawa: Index to Documents on Doukhobors 1987: Manuscript Division MG.' Crescent Valley, B.C.: 1987. [48] 1.

122. __________
'Public Archives Canada, Ottawa: Index to Documents on Doukhobors 1987: Records Division RG' Crescent Valley, B.C.: 1987. [47] 1.

123. LATIMER, Robert Sloan
"The Dukhobors and Count Leo Tolstoy" in his *Under Three Tsars: Liberty of Conscience in Russia 1856-1909.* London: Morgan & Scott, 1909: 192-203.

124. LEGEBOKOFF, Peter P.
"Portraits of Doukhobors: Introduction" *Sound Heritage*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1977: 12-21.

125. LINEVA, Evgeniia E.
"Psalms and religious songs of Russian sectarians in the Caucasus" by Madame Eugenie Lineff, in the *Report of the Fourth Congress of the International Musical Society, London, May 29 - June 3, 1911.* London: Novello and Company, Limited, 1912: 187-201.

126. LOVEROFF, Frederick Nicholas
The Paintings of Frederick Nicholas Loveroff / Les Peintures de Frederick Nicholas Loveroff; an exhibition organized by the Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery. University of Regina, 1981. 85 pp.

127. LYONS, John E.
"The (almost) quiet evolution: Doukhobor schooling in Saskatchewan" *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1976: 23-37. [Article based on his 1973 M.A. thesis: 'A History of Doukhobor Schooling in Saskatchewan and British Columbia 1899-1939.']

128. __________
"Emmett in wonderland" *Vitae Scholasticae: the Bulletin of Educational Biography*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1988: 363-379.
About the Quaker Emmett Gulley's role among the Doukhobors.

129. __________
"Toil and a peaceful life: Peter V. Verigin and Doukhobor education" *Communal Societies*, no. 11, 1991: 78-92.

130. MALAKOFF, Mike
[Sacred song notebook (in Russian)] [Pass Creek, B.C.]:c. 1932. 131 pp.
Retrieved by donor from attic of Pass Creek community house undergoing demolition in the early-to-mid 1970s.

131. MALLOFF, Marjorie, and Peter OGLOFF.
Toil and Peaceful Life: Portraits of Doukhobors. Compiled and translated by Marjorie Malloff and Peter Ogloff [vol. 6, no. 4, 1977 of *Sound Heritage*]. Victoria: 1977. 78 pp.

132. MALOFF, Peter N.
"Venok P. Malova na mogilu P.O. Chistiakova-Verigina (nadgrobnaia rech')" [P. Maloff's wreath on the grave of P.P. Verigin (funeral speech)], *Solntse* (Los Angeles), no. 10-12 and 1-3, 1939: 29-30.

133. MARSHALL, Jocelyn
"The spirit wrestlers - can they serve two masters? /Les lutteurs de l'esprit - peuvent-ils servir deux maîtres à la fois?" *Liaison: A Monthly Journal for the Criminal Justice System / Le Courrier Mensuel de la Justice Pénale*, vol. 10, no. 6, 1984: 1-9 and cover photo.
Text and photographs deal with a recent session of the Kootenay Committee on Integroup Relations.

134. MARTIN, Tanya T.
East West Passage, March 10-24: Soviet Writers Reading Tour of Western Canada.
Castlegar, B.C.: Selkirk College and the Association of Canadians of Russian Descent, 1989, 32. p.

135. McCARDLE, Bennett (Archivist, Social Affairs and Natural Resources Records Section, Federal Archives Division, Public Archives Canada)
[Information provided in response to S. Lapshinoff's inquiry of 17 March 1986 concerning materials held on Doukhobor history.] 30 l., ms. and ts.

Covering letter with information on availability of certain microfilm reels having to do with immigration and the availability of other materials on the following lists either through purchase or through interlibrary loan:

1. McCARDLE, Bennett. The Death of Peter the Lordly, 29 October 1924: Records in Federal Collections.. 4 l., ts.
2. CANADA. PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. Manuscript Division.
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APPENDICES:
A Partial List of Depredations Against the USCC; Letter from P.V. Verigin to Premier Oliver; Excerpt from Research Committee Report, USCC Brief to Premier Bennett - June, 1977; Schedule "A" - USCC Appeal to Premier Barrett - August, 1975; Schedule "B" - USCC Petition to B.C. Government; USCC Brief to Attorney-General Gardom - November, 1979; USCC Press Releases; USCC Letter to KCIR - October, 1980; Enclosure - Mary Astofooroff letter of September 18, 1980; Breakdown of USCC Security Costs.

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DOUKHOBOR MATERIALS IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MUSEUM OF RELIGIOUS HISTORY IN ST. PETERSBURG *****

by

Irina V. Tarasova

The St. Petersburg Museum of Religious History in Russian is a unique institution the principal mandate of which is to collect, study and display materials reflecting the evolution of religious thought and the life and activities of religious associations and organizations from antiquity up to the present time. The Museum was founded in 1932 by V. G. Bogoraz-Tan, a prominent Russian scholar, ethnographer and specialist on Siberia. It is located in the premises of the Kazan Cathedral, a wonderful Russian architectural monument dating back to the 19th century. During the course of its sixty years of existence, the Museum has accumulated an extraordinarily impressive collection of exhibits and documentary materials. Materials on the history and culture of the Doukhobors occupy a worthy place in this rich collection. They include a small set of traditional costumes, two paintings, and a wide range of documentary materials which form a part of the Museum's research and historical archives.

The archives were set up in 1950 on the initiative of Vladimir D. Bonch-Bruevich. At the present time there are approximately 24,000 items in its collection, including documents related to the history of Russian Orthodoxy, ancient beliefs, the Catholic and Lutheran churches in Russia, Islam, Buddhism, Russian free-masonry, and theosophy. There is also a great number of documents on the various sectarian movements such as the protestant orientation (the Baptists, Pentacostals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Mennonites and the Stundists) as well as the trends which initially had their origins in the bosom of orthodoxy but which eventually went their own ways. The collection of 7,000 documents accumulated by Bonch-Bruevich during the course of his life and ultimately handed over to the Museum lies at the heart of this archive collection. A significant number of documents were inherited from the Central Anti-Religious Museum which was in operation during the 1920s and 40s and which eventually merged into the Museum of Religious History. A number of sets of documents came from

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***** Translated from Russian.

other archive collections in the country as, for example, from the State Literary Archives, where the materials in question did not reflect the general profile of that collection. At the same time the Museum has worked independently in the past and is presently working independently to enrich its Archives by way of obtaining various documents as well as complete personal collections from private individuals. The Museum has been very fortunate in acquiring some valuable documents on the history of the Doukhobors which were presented to the Museum as a gift by Vladimir Vladimirovich Kuznitsov, an enthusiastic researcher engaged in the study of local lore from the village of Gorelovka in the Republic of Georgia.

The total number of materials collected on the Doukhobors exceeds 2,500 items. These items embrace almost a century of the history of the Doukhobors from the middle of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. The vast majority of these documents have been neatly organized and concentrated into several collections: the V. D. Bonch-Bruevich fund (F.2, inventory 7); the V. A. Makaseev Fund (F.6); the M. S. Dudchenko Fund (F.7); the I. M. Tregubov Fund (F. 13); the "Free Word" Publishers Fund (F.14, inventory 2.3); the P. I. Biryukov Fund (F. 17); the S. P. Prokopenko Fund (F. 27) and the collection of "Materials on the History of Sectarianism in Russia" (collect. 1, inventory 14). In addition to this, a number of individual documents are kept in other funds: "The United Council of Communities and Groups which Object to Military Service on the Grounds of Religious Convictions" Fund (F.3); the E. V. Molostvova Fund (F.5); the N. D. Rostovtsev Fund (F.11) and the A. D. Khilkov Fund (F.26).

The list given above clearly illustrates that all these sources, with rare exception, are private collections, and thus it is inevitable that every one of them bears the personal stamp of its owner, his particular interests and biases. The individuals who left them belonged to different strata of Russian society. Thus D. A. Khilkov and E. V. Molostvova were, for example, a part of the aristocracy; P. I. Biryukov came from a family of army officers; I. M. Tregubov was a priest's son and S. P. Prokopenko came from peasant stock. Their financial status was different as well. Chertkov and Biryukov had sufficient resources to enable them not only to live comfortably abroad as immigrants but also to run their own publishing business, while Bonch-Bruevich, Tregubov and Prokopenko were constantly compelled to earn their own living. Their political opinions also did not coincide. Bonch-Bruevich was a member of the Bolshevik Party and an active participant in the October Revolution, Tregubov and Dudchenko were confirmed pacifists, and

Khilkov and Prokopenko were proponents of socialist ideas. However, they were all united by the common desire to seek justice and spiritual freedom.

All the individual donors were socially active and very involved people who openly practised and stood by their beliefs and who were always ready to sacrifice their personal comforts for the sake of their fellow man. Their articles and books about the Doukhobors awakened public opinion, called out for help to assist them and exposed injustice and cruelty. For example, our archives contain the brochure, "Help", about the grievous situation of the Doukhobors, written in 1897 by P. I. Biryukov and V. G. Chertkov and sent to all the *auls* [villages in the Caucasus and in Central Asia] in the Tiflis Gubernia [Province] as well as "A Brief Note on the Funds Necessary to Ease the Conditions of the Doukhobors" by the same authors. These publications essentially made possible their emigration to Canada.[1] The documentary proof of these conditions can be found in L. Sulerzhitsky's notes "On the Doukhobors in 1898" which included the diary of his travels and a description of the villages and their living conditions. Eight drawings of Doukhobor-type personages - nameless portraits of two women and six men - make an interesting addition to the text.[2] The life of the Doukhobors in Canada became the subject matter in "Among the Canadian Doukhobors" by I. K. Diterikhs (1903) and "The Doukhobors in Canada. An Essay in Psychology" by S. P. Prokopenko (1902).[3] The collection "On the Doukhobors" by P. I. Biryukov included his earlier works on this subject and his impressions about his trips to Canada in 1926 and to Trans-Caucasia in 1928.[4] We should also mention the "Materials on the History of the Emigration of the Doukhobors" by S. L. Tolstoy, which contains a detailed account of the relocation of one of the groups of Doukhobors and is coloured by a personal view of the matter, as well as a number of works by I. M. Tregubov, including one of his articles "The World's Best and Most Well-Appointed Commune of Doukhobors". Another of his articles, "Notes on the Doukhobors Compiled from the Words of I. Ivin and P. Planidin", is dedicated to the dogma and the structure of the community, as well as to its history after the death of L. V. Kalmykova.[5]

The most thorough account of the events accompanying the history of the Doukhobors during the last hundred years is reflected in the **V. D. Bonch-Bruevich Fund**. The Fund contains documents which describe the major aspects of the dogma and the life within the community both in Tsarist Russia as well as during the Soviet period, relations with the authorities, the relocation to Canada and the dramatic fate of the group of Doukhobors on the Island of Cyprus. Such a broad spectrum of documentary materials took shape through the overall goals targeted by Bonch-Bruevich, i.e. to prepare the grounds for future historic research. With this objective in mind, he engaged in lively correspondence (more than half of the 993 items in the collection are letters), searched out individual documents and ordered copies of those in other archives. This Fund represents both originals as well as copies, because the major concern of the collector was to provide the information contained in those documents. A few dozen photographs portraying the Doukhobors, the everyday existence of the settlers as well as their life in Canada, their meetings, and the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of their relocation form a marvellous addition to the documents and manuscripts. These materials have all been collected and preserved in a separate inventory of the Fund (No. 29).

Another important set of materials consisting of approximately 400 items in the collection is the **P. I. Biryukov Fund**. The materials for this Fund are of a somewhat more homogeneous nature and reflect for the most part the life of the Canadian Doukhobors. In addition, they give a more detailed description of the specific features characteristic of their social and economic structure, of the relationships both within the Community and with the Canadian authorities, as well as of their spiritual searchings. Biryukov attaches special significance to P. V. Verigin, carefully preserving not only his letters but also all the articles and newspaper clippings about him as well as the materials pertaining to his death and burial.

In the **I. M. Tregubov Fund** one's attention is drawn first to the documents about the situation of the Doukhobors in Soviet Russia as well as to those associated with the fate of those Doukhobors who relocated from Canada back to Russia, the official correspondence with the authorities, the information about the agricultural communes set up in the Salsk and Melitopol *okrugi* [districts] and the correspondence between Tregubov and P. P. Verigin prior to the latter's departure for Canada. There is also a certain number of materials about the life of the Canadian Doukhobors, however they do not have any systematic nature and at times they merely duplicate the materials in the Biryukov Fund.

The materials from the **V. A. Makaseev Fund** are concerned exclusively with the problems of the Canadian Doukhobors. This can be explained by the fact that Makaseev was one of them himself. The documents relate to the period from the 1920s to the 1940s and shed light on the relationship between the members of the Community and the farmers, the status of the Doukhobors in Canadian society, the issues of spiritual life within the community and the migration of the Doukhobors to other areas of Canada and to Russia, as well as a proposal of relocating to Paraguay.

Unlike other Funds that were set up in a natural way during the course of the activities of their owners, this particular one bears the traits of an artificial process. All the pertinent materials were selected by V. A. Makaseev and then sent to Bonch-Bruevich. By virtue of this they fail to offer an unbiased picture of the events and its author simply reflects his own point of view on this matter. This constitutes both the shortcomings and the merits of this Fund.

There are relatively few materials on the Doukhobors in the **M. S. Dudchenko Fund** and those that do exist are of a quite fragmentary nature. Of special interest, however, are the letters of S. P. Prokopenko, P. N. Biryukova and N. A. Sheierman, which deal with the problems of the Canadian Doukhobors and the Doukhobor Communities, as well as the correspondence between M. S. Dudchenko and the Minister of Immigration of Canada concerning the situation of the Doukhobors and his appeal to the Soviet authorities in defence of the Doukhobors residing in the Melitopol Okrug and against the unjustified repression against them.

The **S. P. Prokopenko Fund** consists exclusively of epistle-type materials. Some of the letters were gone over and prepared for publication but have never been published. Taking into account the fact that Prokopenko lived in Canada from 1899 through 1918, his letters to D. A. Khilkov, V. G. Chertkov, M. S. Dudchenko and others as well as his information concerning Canadian life can be viewed as valuable evidence provided by an intelligent, observant and honest man.

The **Fund of the Free Word publishing house**, which includes the archives of the editorial offices, has a collection of documentary evidence concerning the most dramatic period of the life of the Doukhobors - 1896 to 1903, i.e. the recollections of direct participants in the events, stories about the past, including those about the life in the Caucasus, about the refusals to do military service, about the exile to Yakutia, materials about the relocation to Canada and the biography of the Doukhobors and their petition to Nikolai and his mother the Empress Maria Fedorovna as well as published materials. There is also a series of photographs. All of the above-mentioned documents, though they are mostly of a literary and descriptive nature, are still valuable in view of their frankness, and this enables us to hear the voices of real people and to get a feeling for the pulse of those times. The separate inventory consists of many letters written by various people, including Doukhobors, addressed to A. K. and V. G. Chertkov. Although these are personal letters, they do contain many interesting historical facts and details.

Finally, the collection "Materials on the History of Sectarianism in Russia (inventory 14 - the Doukhobors)" consists of documents which belonged to **M. V. Gubanov**, one of the leaders of the "Small Party." For the most part they are related to his fight for the legacy of L. V. Kalmykova and are also associated with his business affairs. In addition to this, there are several documents dating as far back as the early period, from 1840 to 1865. By these documents it was possible to establish who was entitled to succeed L. Kalmykov after his death. Most of the documents are copies made in 1895 - 1897. This, however, does not diminish their historical significance.

Now it is appropriate to turn to a more detailed analysis of the contents of our collection in St. Petersburg. Let us begin with the manuscripts which give an account of the basic elements of the Doukhobor dogmas and which are of value because they all originated in the Doukhobor milieu directly and are not merely commentaries. In 1896, in one of his letters, I. E. Konkin explained the meaning of the name "Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood" and listed the ten rules of the dogma.[6] More substantial information to this effect can be derived, however, from I. Abrosimov's "Description of the Essence of the Christian Faith and the Knowledge of the Gospel of our Lord", from I. Strelyaev's notes "Some Features of Doukhobor Society", as well as from "The Essence of the Dogma of the Doukhobors in Questions and Answers" by P. V. Verigin.[7] All the accounts have been supplemented with selected psalms, since it is precisely through them that the doctrines of the Doukhobors are implemented. Psalm collecting, therefore, has always been treated as an important task by our Fund organizers. They have always sought to obtain appropriate commentaries to them from experts in the field such as V. I. Medvedev, for example, who undertook personally to explain the essence of the psalm "Tsar David Aseevich" to Bonch-Bruevich. As a result of the work of Bonch-Bruevich the first edition of the *Book of Life* was published. His draft notes for this project were kept in the Free Word archives.[8] Even after this he continued to collect psalms and spoken prayers.[9]

Around approximately the same time as Bonch-Bruevich's work, similar work was being undertaken by Ivan M. Tregubov, who wrote down about forty psalms while he was in the Tionetsk and Goriisk Uezds of the Caucasus. His Doukhobor friends used to send him their texts which Tregubov then marked, indicating the sender and the village they came from. Bonch-Bruevich used Tregubov's notes as well. In Canada this work was carried on by V. A. Makaseev, who dreamed about the new publication *Book of Life*. He also managed to collect a considerable number of new psalms and spiritual verses, combined the supplements into three sections and wrote a preface for the edition. He often discussed this work in his letters to A. K. Chertkov, V. D. Bonch-Bruevich and I. G. Bondarev. However, on the advice of Peter P. Verigin, the project was never published.

The materials pertaining to the history of the Doukhobor associations are diverse in nature: there are original documents, copies and memoir notes. Unfortunately the period from the origin of Doukhoborism until the middle of the 19th century is represented in copies and memoirs only. Mention should be made of the Decrees issued by Alexander I with respect to the Doukhobors, as well as of a large selection of archival materials of an official nature on sectarianism during the period 1817 - 1840.[10] The stories about the founders of the sect, Sylvan Kolesnikov and Saveli Kapustin, were initially circulated by word of mouth and only set down in written form at the end of the 19th century, but the people managed to retain the events of the past intact. The narratives, "The Doukhobors at the Beginning of the 19th Century" (author unknown) and "About Our Ancestors" by M. S. Androsov, express the essence of the events despite their folkloric nature. I. Kutnyakov also gives an account of the general aspects of the history of the Doukhobors from S. Kapustin until the death of Lukeria V. Kalmykova.[11]

The circumstances surrounding the lives of specific individuals are depicted in G. Bokovoi's account, "On the Arrest of 20 Doukhobors in the Village of Alferovka in the Voronezh Gubernia and their forced Baptism", and in " The Life of an Old Bombardier", V. Vereshchagin's memoirs about his own service in the air force under Nikolai I.[12] The interest displayed by the Doukhobors towards their own past can be seen through such short sketches as "The Doukhobors - the Descendants", which is about the origin of such families as the Kanigans, the Rybins, the Popovs, the Potapovs and the Bokovs, as well as through the "Memorial List", which contains the dates of the deaths of Kolesnikov, Kapustin, L. Kalmykov and L. V. Kalmykova.[13] The property status of the community is reflected in the documents pertaining to the transfer of the custody of the orphans and of L. Kalmykov's estate which includes an inventory of the house, the outbuildings, cattle, stock, funds and utensils "owned" by him.[14] In addition, the same information can be found in the correspondence dealing with the failed effort undertaken by the Doukhobors in 1865 aimed at getting back their cattle-breeding farm and the water mill which were confiscated from them during their eviction from Milky Waters and then auctioned off, with the money received from the sale being turned over to charity. The amount received from the sale together with the money held in a bank account exceeded 6,000 rubles in silver, which turned out to be enough to build an orthodox church in the village of Terpenie. There is also a document on the signing and witnessing of Larion Kalmykov's spiritual testament bequeathing everything to his wife Lukeria V. Kalmykova.[15]

The events that unfolded after the death of Lukeria V. Kalmykova are reflected in a much more complete manner than when the active collecting of materials on the Doukhobors began while many of the witnesses to and participants in those events were still alive. I. A. Verigin wrote specifically about this in his manuscript "On the Death of L. V. Kalmykova". The second part of his manuscript recalls the public condemnation with respect to the mourning for Lukeria Vasilievna Kalmykova and the ban on drinking wine during ceremonies in her memory.[16] In 1887 the Tiflis Okrug Court acknowledged M. V. Gubanov's right to his sister's inheritance and, in fact, transferred the property which had belonged to the community to him, since it had formally been registered under the name of L. V. Kalmykova. The archive contains the court ruling on this question as well as the "Writ of Execution" with respect to the ownership of the Orphan's Home, a detailed inventory of property as well as ownership documents concerning the *khutor* [farmstead] located near Lake Mada-Tapa and the working of the land to extract manganese.[17] The court case that was ultimately held between the Doukhobors of the village of Troitskoe, who considered this property their own, and Gubanov turned out in favour of the latter. And the complaint of the "Large Party", which was signed by dozens of people against "those who are seeking to take the Orphan's Home away", was similarly unsuccessful.[18] The troubles around this incident are described quite thoroughly in I. P. Obrasimov's reminiscences "At One Time, Christians, We Did Have an Orphan's Home...", and in T. I. Scherbakov's and V. V. Zybin's "On Our Past Life".[19] The internal split within the community that subsequently followed and that irreconcilably divided some families is described by N. S. Antyufeev in his "Notes on the Resumption of a Christian Life", which speaks about the opposition of the children and mother to the father of the family and their ultimate flight from him.[20]

The burning of weapons in 1895 is mentioned in his "Recollections about the Doukhobors" by N. I. Dudchenko, who spent 1893 - 1898 in exile in the Caucasus; N. S. Zibarov wrote about this in his "On the Burning of Weapons by the Kholodensk Doukhobors"; it was written by I. V. Verigin in his "Story about a Doukhobor"; by I. M. Tregubov in his "The History of the Burning of the Weapons by the Doukhobors"; and told by V. N. Konygin in his discussion with Bonch-Bruevich.[21] This significant act is mentioned in other materials as well, since in a way it had become the starting point.

The refusals to do military service, the imprisonment resulting from this, being sent off to disciplinary battalions - all this became the subject matter for articles and sketches: F. Vishlov's "Caucasian Life" (about his time spent in prison); S. Plotnikov's "New Information about the Caucasian Doukhobors and New Cases of Refusal to do Military Service in the Caucasus"; N. Chivildeev's "On the Life of the Doukhobors in the Ekaterinoslav Disciplinary Battalion"; E. R. Konygin's "Self-Sacrificing Love" (on his visit to the Yelizavetpol Disciplinary Battalion); the same issue was raised in 1897 in the letter, the author of which has not yet been established, from the village of Spasovka ("The people are seeing the Doukhobor Vanya Khudyakov off to exile, he is being sent to the Yakut *Oblast* [Region] after spending three years in a disciplinary battalion."[22] The residents of the Doukhobor villages were subjected to cruel repressions - over a period of forty days a row of punitive detachment committed outrages and engaged in robbing, beatings and rape - all this is documented in the reports by P. Planidin, Potapov and Abrosimov, as well as by M. Glukhova, Pozdnyakov and others. The most valuable feature of all these reports is that they were all drawn up immediately after the events while the scent was still hot.[23]

A more general account of the events dating back to 1895-1897 was given by Vasia Pozdnyakov in his Doukhobor "Narrative" and by S. Plotnikov "On the Persecution of the Doukhobors." Both works are of interest not only because of the information the authors present but also because of the extensive quotations from other people's letters.[24] The conditions of the Doukhobors who had been sent off to the auls are described in such materials as "The Doukhobors in the Goriisk Uezd" by S. Perevozhnikov, "Notes" by Leopold Sulerzhitsky which were mentioned earlier, E. P. Nakashidze's report, "The Doukhobor Congress in the Goriisk Uezd", which records the attempt to set up a community credit union, as well as E. I. Alebegov's report about the illnesses and death rate amongst those who had been exiled and about the fact that they were without work. The condition of their health was also dealt with by I. M. Tregubov, who noted the great number of cases of eye disease, and by the doctor who treated them at that time. However the most vivid representation of their situation was presented in the "Statistical Data on the Doukhobors in 1899", which gave the number of those who were exiled, sick and dead, as well as the amount of property and foodstuffs. When all this is taken together the picture looks very deplorable.[25] Lists of the

Doukhobors exiled to Yakutia were preserved as was their extensive correspondence with their relatives and with each other, a portion of which was put together in the collection, "The Letters of the Yakutia Doukhobors", a large manuscript by I. Babyakin, "The Doukhobors in Exile in Yakutia", and an account of M. Androsov's trip to Obdorsk to meet with P. V. Verigin.[26] The copies include an appeal from Doukhobors all across the Tiflis Gubernia to the Empress Maria Fedorovna requesting her permission to leave for Canada.[27]

The cruelty against the Doukhobors was widely publicized both in Russian and abroad. The desperate efforts on the part of the friends of the Doukhobors opened the way for them to leave for Canada. In order to get an idea of how this grandiose undertaking was carried out it is helpful to turn to the "Materials Pertaining to the Relocation of the Doukhobors to Canada and the Organization of their Lives in Canada in 1898-1902". These documents include, in originals and in copies: the certificate of the British Consul concerning the relocation, the estimate of the cost of the trip, the lists of the Doukhobors who arrived in Canada on board the fourth ship, the bills for the expenses incurred for the trip, the lists of the poor Doukhobors, the lists of those wishing to borrow 100 dollars to start homes of their own, the appeal to the Government of Canada to make an exception for the Doukhobors with respect to those laws and regulations which were incompatible with their religious convictions.

Additional information is provided in the "Notebooks" concerning relocation donations and expenses, a "Memorandum" indicating the dates of arrival, the total number of newly arrived Doukhobors, the places in which they settled, maps of Canada and of the province of Manitoba with marks indicating the places of residences of the Doukhobors, and a plan of their settlements.[28] The details of their lives and everyday activities can be drawn from the diary of V. M. Velichkina, "On Board the Ship Lake Huron", from E. D. Khiryakova's "Reminiscences about the Doukhobors", which notes the cases of illness and describes the condition of the Doukhobors' health, as well as from the detailed letters written by V. D. Bonch-Bruevich to V. G. Chertkov. The point of view held by the Doukhobors themselves is reflected in the "Accounts of the Trip from Batum to Canada in 1899" by N. Zibarov and S. Reibin.[30] The group of Doukhobors who settled on the island of Cyprus found themselves virtually on the verge of extinction because of the unaccustomed climatic conditions and the lack of the means for existence, to which the "Lists of Those Who Emigrated to the Island of Cyprus and Who Died There" bears testimony. Their complex situation can be seen from the notes of B. Elmassian, "On the Arrival of the Doukhobors in Cyprus", which also shows the attitude towards them on the part of the local population and of the authorities as well. This same subject was also a point of discussion in the letters to Russia written by I. Ivin and others. Chertkov was informed of this by A. Samsonov and P. I. Biryukov. In his reply to those letters, Chertkov promised the Doukhobors his support and, in fact, succeeded in arranging for them to leave for Canada.[31]

The Doukhobors who had stayed behind in Russia fell out of focus of our collectors' attention for a certain length of time. There is no information concerning the life of the "Small Party" with the exception of some uncoordinated documents related to M. V. Gubanov's entrepreneurial activities. The subsequent materials relate to the Soviet period of the history of the Doukhobors. During the civil war in the Caucasus the community of Doukhobors had both its cattle and its implements taken away, and this prompted it to appeal for relocation to the interior of Russia. There is an extract from the Record of Proceedings of the meeting of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the positive resolution of this question.[32] In 1918, pursuant to a resolution of the Congress of the Doukhobors of the Caucasus, the organization, "The Community of Doukhobors of the Caucasus", was set up. Agricultural communes were operated within this community. There are records of proceedings from the sessions of the 1st and 2nd Congresses held by this Community, as well as letters and declarations written by persons authorized by the Community to V. D. Bonch-Bruevich, who managed the affairs of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, with the aim of protecting their economic interests.

In accordance with their convictions some of the Doukhobors refused to perform military service, which triggered a negative response on the part of the authorities and also resulted in prosecution. The data to this effect has been preserved in the I. M. Tregubov Fund. The documents of the 30s deal mostly with the fate of particular individuals who were subjected to unfounded repressions and to "dispossession."[These documents are complaints, applications and reports drawn up by Ivan M. Tregubov, who acted as the regular solicitor for the Doukhobors, letters by M. S. Dudchenko in defense of the Melitopol Doukhobors addressed to the VTSIK of the Ukraine, an appeal submitted to the Supreme Court by V. D. Bonch-Bruevich with respect to the situation of the Caucasian Doukhobors, as well as letters written by T. I. Gubanov who sought justice and succeeded in getting his rights reinstated but left for Canada nevertheless.[34]

The collection of materials portraying the lives of the Canadian Doukhobors is considerably richer and includes documents describing the property and the economic situation of the community, its spiritual development and the searchings of some of the Doukhobor groups as well as their cultural problems and their relations with the authorities. Public condemnations of the villages of the northern part of the Kolumbia [Columbia] Okrug date back to 1899 and refer to the community structure, way of life and the organization of the economy. Also of interest are such documents as the "Statistical Tables of the Settlements for 1900", which contain data with respect to the amount of land and cattle and the size of the crops and harvests; a series of reports on the congresses held by the Doukhobor communities in Virigin Station as well as in the villages of Nadezhda and Kapustino and in the Prince Albert area (1906-1911), which discussed agricultural results in addition to spiritual and social problems; data on the annual wheat sales and on the construction of bridges and railroads by the community; and documents on the campaign organized by the Community of Universal Brotherhood Ltd. (the Charter, the composition of the Directorate headed by P. V. Verigin, 1917).[35]

There are also documents about the organization and activities of the Society of Independent Doukhobors; the Charter of the Society of Canadian Doukhobors, which sets forth the basis of their world outlook and their moral and organizational principles and determines the sphere of their activities -- a list of their public enterprises is attached (shops, mills, elevators); materials pertaining to the activities of the Society of Named Doukhobors (records of proceedings of the meetings and congresses as well as appeals to the brothers and sisters regarding the questions of celebrating religious festivals and selecting the personnel to register marriages, births and deaths).[36]

It is a well known fact that the relations between the Doukhobors and the Canadian authorities were not always harmonious. This is because of problems that developed with respect to instruction in the schools, the registration of marriages, births and deaths, and the acquisition of citizenship. The issues in question are reflected in the correspondence of the Community which has been preserved and which dates from 1912-1915; the "Explanation" presented by the members of the community in response to a government request to provide reasons for their refusal to go to school and to have their marriages, births and deaths registered; the report on the visit of the Minister of the Province of Victoria to the Community.[37] In 1927, during his stay in Canada, P. Biryukov outlined his "Plan of the Cultural Activities of the Doukhobors" and the "Programme of the Activities of the Section on Public Education" which were directed at enhancing the cultural and educational level of the Doukhobors. Later, on these same problems were of concern to the Society of Named Doukhobors, which called upon their believers in the faith to set up a library, open private schools and invite Russian teachers to teach in them. The 1949 celebration of the 50th anniversary of their arrival in Canada has become a significant event in the cultural life of the Doukhobor communities. One can get some idea about this event from the "Celebration Programme" and from the scenarios of the "Live Portraits" of the history of the Doukhobors. A series of photographs of the celebration supplements these materials. Unfortunately these documents are the most recent in our collection and have not been supplemented by modern Canadian materials.

While discussing the spiritual evolution and the spiritual searchings of the Doukhobors it is necessary to mention one particular group - *svobodniki* [the Freedomites], whose manuscripts are also part of our collection. The ideas they adhered to are set down in the "Book of the Free People in Canada Who Suffered and Died Because of their Belief in God" by F. I. Ryazannev, in the verses and manuscripts of M. Voikin and N. Kolesnikov, in the "Message of Goodwill" - a collection of psalms and poems (as set down by I. Mulchenko), and in the petitions, appeals and addresses to the authorities.[39]

The documents that stand out from among the materials that illuminate the ideas and activities of specific individuals are those that are related to the unique personality of Peter V. Verigin, the leader of the Community Doukhobors. There are a great number of his letters to V. G. Chertkov, P. I. Biryukov, I. M. Tregubov and to his relatives and close ones, as well as open letters to Doukhobor communities and groups, to newspaper editorial offices and to officials in Canada. The latter can only formally be attributed to the epistolary section since as far as their contents and significance are concerned they go beyond its boundaries and are, in fact, a response to the social and spiritual requirements of the Doukhobors. One should also mention his articles, "The Secret of World Laws", "The Beneficial and Harmful Effects of Cities" and "The Beginnnings of the Community Life of the Doukhobors", his discussions and sermons during annual meetings, and his economic decrees and instructions as, for example, those dealing with the planning of the "House of Meetings" or with the sowing of the plots.[40] Also of interest are Verigin's "Autobiography" (1902), his "Diary of an Exile" (1890), and his work "My Trip to Alabama" - travel notes coupled with economic observations. There are a number of materials about his death and burial which contain biographical narratives, funeral orations, and psalms, verses and prayers composed in memory of P. V. Verigin.[41] Understanding well the role played by Verigin in the Doukhobor movement, our collectors took special care in preserving his materials.

The materials mentioned in our small review far from exhaust all the interesting documents that we have in our possession. Nonetheless we would hope that they might be helpful in forming an opinion about the scale and richness of our archives.

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1. F.14, inventory 2, files 15, 17, 145.

2. F.14, inventory 2, file 125.

3. F.14, inventory 2, file 34; F.17, inventory 1, file 1016.

4. F.17, inventory 1, file 51.

5. F.17, inventory 1, file 1021; F.13, inventory 1, files 63, 204, 215.

6. F.2, inventory 7, file 522.

7. F.2, inventory 7, file 553; F.17, inventory 1, file 625.

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9. F.2, inventory 7, file 977.

10. F.14, inventory 2, file 263; F.2, inventory 7, files 593, 594, 596, 597.

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26. F.14, inventory 2, files 237, 261; F.2, inventory 7, file 485; F.14, inventory 2, file 5.

27. F.14, inventory 2, file 262.

28. F.2, inventory 7, file 269; F.14, inventory 2, file 268; F.17, inventory 1, file 573; F.2, inventory 7, files 933, 936, 937.

29. F.14, inventory 2, file 21; F.2, inventory 7, file 876; F.14, inventory 2, file 55; inventory 3, files 74, 76.

30. F.13, inventory 1, file 267.

31. F.2, inventory 7, files 860 - 865; F.14, inventory 3, files 47, 48, 1029 - 1031; F.2, inventory 7, file 858.

32. F.2, inventory 7, files 816, 817, 834; F.13, inventory 1, file 216.

33. F.2, inventory 7, files 816, 819 - 822.

34. F.2, inventory 7, files 808, 809, 839 - 846; F.7, inventory 2, file 8; F.13, inventory 1, file 526

35. F.14, inventory 2, files 244, 270; F.17, inventory 1, files 550, 553, 554, 565, 577; F.13, inventory 1, file 205; F.17, inventory 1, files 552, 581, 604.

36. F.6, inventory 1, files 151, 152, 154, 158, 161.

37. F.2, inventory 7, file 878; F.17, inventory 1, files 556, 557, 572, 649 - 652.

38. F.17, inventory 1, files 144, 655; F.13, inventory 1, file 231; F.6, inventory 1, file 155; F.2, inventory 7, file 897.

39. F.2, inventory 7, files 571, 577; F.17, inventory 1, files 663, 665; F.14, inventory 2, file 181; F.13, inventory 1, files 235, 685.

40. F.17, inventory 1, files 548, 622 - 624, 661.

41. F.14, inventory 2, files 24, 26; F.17, inventory 1, files 593, 740 - 752.

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OTHER PAPERS RECEIVED

The editors wish to acknowledge the following submissions and their contributors. Although these works do not appear in the present volume, copies can be supplied on request.

Alexeeva, Galina. "Literature on the Doukhobors Contained in Lev. N. Tolstoy's Private Library in the Village of Yasnaya Polyana."

Barnes, Annie B. "Doukhobor Women in the Twentieth Century."

Cary, Stephen G. "A Further Quaker-Doukhobor Connection: The American Friends Service Committee."

Chernoff, Peter F. "Doukhobor Stars in the Sports World."

Deacove, Jim. "Co-operative Games - An Alternative to the Exploitative Ethic."

Dunn. Ethel. "Spiritual and Economic Renewal Among Molokans and Doukhobors."

Grigulevich, Nadezhda. "The Doukhobors of Georgia: Traditional Food and Farming."

Inikova, Svetlana. "Doukhobors in the U.S.S.R. at the End of the 1980s."

Inikova, Svetlana. "Holidays and Rituals of Caucasian Doukhobors."

Kabatoff, Jan. "Doukohobor Art and Artists Through the Century."

Kanigan, Vera. "Intermarriage of the Doukhboors: Changing Attitudes and Realities."

Kolesnikoff, James D. and Nina Kolesnikoff. "Ivan Sysoev: A Doukhobor Poet of the Century."

Kootnekoff, Jon-Lee. "Imaging the Future."

Lebedeva, Nadezhda. "The Psychological Adaptation of Doukhobors and Molokans of Transcaucasia to a Different Ethno-Cultural and Natural Environment."

Malloff, Steve J. "From Photos to Videos - The USCC Video Club."

Minden, Robert. "Meetings with Canadian Doukhobors in British Columbia. A Photo Essay."

Nikitina, Serafima. "Oral Tradition of the Doukhobors of Dzhavakhetiya."

Petroff, Fred. "Doukhobors in Agriculture."

Plotnikoff, Vi. "The Circle Journey."

Podovinikoff, Peter P. "The Credit Union and Co-operative Movement Amongst the Doukhobors in the 1900s."

Popoff, Eli A. "A True Story About Doukhobor Pioneer Babushka Siminishcheva-Popova."

Popoff, Eli A. "Doukhobor Poetry and Doukhobor Poets in Canada."

Semenoff, John J. "Doukhobor Peace Manifestations in Canada."

Semenoff, Paul. "Doukhobor-Russian and Soviet Relations Through the Century - an Example of Bridge-Building Across Cold War Boundaries."

Shockey, Jim. "Vasyl Ivanovich Zubenkoff (Greatest Doukhobor Folk Artist)."

Stushnoff, George. "Doukhobor Bread Baking in Saskatoon: A Success Story."

Tracie, Carl. "Doukhobor Village Locations: The Thunder Hill Colony."

Verigin, Marilyn. "Doukhobor Entrepreneurs."

Verigin, Michael. "Doukhobors in Alberta - An Insider's View."

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Spirit Wrestlers

Centennial Papers in Honour of Canada's Doukhobor Heritage

The centenary of Doukhobor settlement in Canada (1899–1999) marks a unique chapter in the story of this country and its peoples. In *Spirit Wrestlers*, twenty-six contributors from Canada, Russia, Japan, and the United States offer important insights into the legacy of the Doukhobors. The discussion ranges from Doukhobor philosophy and spirituality, song traditions, and history, to aspects of material culture – textile arts, dress, and furnishings – and museological concerns. Two submissions highlight findings of archival and bibliographical relevance. With its illustrations of Doukhobor artifacts from the collections of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the book provides a useful survey of the Doukhobor experience.

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